Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-062
Friday
2 April 1993

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-062 *2 April 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bosnians Bring 'Genocide' Case to World Court *[AFP]* 1

ALBANIA

Assembly Approves Bill on Basic Human Rights *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Meksi Congratulates New French Prime Minister *[Tirana Radio]* 2

BULGARIA

National Assembly Ratifies Treaty With Italy *[BTA]* 3
Parliament Ratifies Money-Laundering Convention *[BTA]* 3
Delegation to IAEA Cochairs Resolution on DPRK *[BTA]* 3
Cabinet Discusses Observance of UN Sanctions *[BTA]* 3
Envoy Invites Defense Minister To Visit Israel *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 26 Mar]* 4
Government Increases Civil Servants' Wages *[BTA]* 4

CZECH REPUBLIC

Fund President 'Blackmailed' by Secret Policeman *[CTK]* 5
Foreign Minister on Havel's Criticism of Ministry *[CTK]* 5
Havel 'Surprised' by Remarks *[CTK]* 5
Socialists 'Shocked' by Havel's 29 March Remarks *[CTK]* 6
Official Views State of Talks on Refugees' Repatriation *[CTK]* 6
Klaus Congratulates New French Prime Minister *[Prague Radio]* 6

SLOVAKIA

Knazko Warns HZDS Against Meciar *[NARODNA OBRODA 29 Mar]* 7
Liberal Faction Announces Departure From HZDS *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 30 Mar]* 8
Democratic Party Holds Congress, Elects Chairman *[NARODNA OBRODA 29 Mar]* 8
Refugee Agreement Signed With Poland *[CTK]* 8

HUNGARY

Government To Accept Hague Court Decision on Dam *[MTI]* 9
Assembly Ratifies Helsinki Open Skies Agreement *[Budapest Radio]* 9
Goncz, Austria's Klestil Brief Journalists on Talks *[MTI]* 9
Ethnic Hungarian Leaders From Slovakia Visit Hungary *[MTI]* 9

POLAND

Foreign Ministry Statement on Bosnia Peace Plan *[PAP]* 10
Germany Seals Border With Poland *[PAP]* 10
No-Confidence Vote Against Minister Rejected *[PAP]* 10
Geremek Considers Expanding Coalition Government *[EXPRESS WIECZORNY 29 Mar]* 10
Walesa Speaks to Poznan Workers on Communists *[Warsaw TV]* 11
Party Leaders on Cooperation With Left *[GLOS PORANNY 24 Mar]* 12
Building Relations With Russia Continues *[PAP]* 12

ROMANIA

Vacaroiu's Tour of Industrial Regions Reviewed *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 29 Mar]* 13
Bulgarian President's Visit Marks Better Relations *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 29 Mar]* 13
North Atlantic Alliance Representative Received *[ROMPRES]* 14
Qatar Foreign Minister Meets With Spiroiu *[ROMPRES]* 14
Meets With Iliescu, Departs *[ROMPRES]* 14
WEU Officials Discuss Reform With Vacaroiu *[ROMPRES]* 15
Consult With Ministers *[ROMPRES]* 15
EC Negotiator Assesses Economic Ties *[ROMPRES]* 15
'Thousands' Protest Harghita Prefect Appointment *[Bucharest Radio]* 16
UDMR Considers Covasna Prefect 'Chauvinistic' *[Bucharest Radio]* 16
Roman Criticizes Intelligence Service *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 30 Mar]* 16
Ukrainian, Hungarian Ships Impounded in Galati *[Bucharest Radio]* 16
PUNR Accuses UDMR of 'Impudence and Blackmail' *[ROMPRES]* 17
FDGR Branch Urges PUNR, UDMR Dialogue *[ROMPRES]* 17
Interview With Petre Roman *[TINERETUL LIBER 25 Mar]* 17

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Serbian Assembly To Reject Vance-Owen Plan *[Belgrade Radio]* 22
Karadzic Calls No-Fly Resolution 'Catastrophic Error' *[AFP]* 22
Karadzic Warns UN May Cause 'Third World War' *[Belgrade Radio]* 22
Red Cross Says Mladic Ban Jeopardizes Aid to Serbs *[AFP]* 23
UNHCR To 'Confront' Serbs *[AFP]* 23
Serb Army Issues Statement on Srebrenica Evacuation *[TANJUG]* 23
Serbs Say Tuzla-Srebrenica Airlift Will Not Resume *[TANJUG]* 23
Serb Deputies Hear Report on Belgrade Talks *[Belgrade Radio]* 23
Churkin Invites Bosnian Serb Delegation to Belgrade *[Belgrade Radio]* 24
Serbian Army Refutes UN Claims on Helicopter Attack *[TANJUG]* 24
Serbs Charge Croats, Muslims With War Crimes *[TANJUG]* 24
Bosnian Leaders Comment on Signing of Peace Plan *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
Foreign Minister on Flight Ban, Talks With Clinton *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
Testimonies of Serbian Rape Victims *[POBJEDA 4 Mar]* 27
Measures To Oppose Military Intervention *[GLAS SRPSKI 26 Jan]* 28
Serbian Republic Wartime Fruit Production *[GLAS SRPSKI 26 Jan]* 29

CROATIA

Hadzic Accuses UN of Disregarding UN Charter *[TANJUG]* 30
Serbs Request Butrus-Ghali Investigate Rights Abuses *[TANJUG]* 30
Serbs Discuss New UN Resolution, Write to Butrus-Ghali *[TANJUG]* 30
Serbia's Use of Slavonian Oil Examined *[DANAS 12 Mar]* 31
Split Daily Under Government Control *[POLITIKA 15 Mar]* 31

SLOVENIA

Drnovsek, Delors Discuss Signing of Cooperation Agreement *[Ljubljana Radio]* 34
Government Denies Withholding Information From Kucan *[Ljubljana Radio]* 34
Article Indicates Rift Between Kucan, Jansa *[DELO 27 Mar]* 35

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Russian Envoy Churkin Visits Belgrade 36
Cosic on Talks With Churkin *[Belgrade Radio]* 36
Cosic, Churkin Hold Talks *[TANJUG]* 36
Kontic Meets With Churkin *[TANJUG]* 37
Assembly Seeks European Parliament Ties *[TANJUG]* 38
Ministry Says Sanctions Committee Ignoring Fuel Requests *[TANJUG]* 38

Romania Accused of Breaking Danube Agreement *[TANJUG]* 39
Confessions of Serb Victims of Rape *[POBJEDA 5 Mar]* 39
Law on Rights of Minorities Prepared *[POLITIKA 9 Mar]* 40
Centralized Public Accounting System *[GLAS SRPSKI 15 Feb]* 42

Serbia

Seselj Calls for Unification of 'Serbian Countries' *[Belgrade Radio]* 43
Reasons for Arrest of Trade Minister Viewed *[NIN 5 Mar]* 43

Montenegro

Socialist Party Official Notes Differences With Serbia *[TANJUG]* 44

Kosovo

Political Parties Request Legalization of Parliament *[ATA]* 45
Oil Shortage Causes Lack of Bread *[TANJUG]* 45
Serbs Refuse To Allow BUJKU Publication *[ATA]* 45

Bosnians Bring 'Genocide' Case to World Court

AU0104144893 Paris AFP in English 1437 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] The Hague, April 1 (AFP)—A case brought by Bosnia-Herzegovina against rump Yugoslavia to end "genocide" in Serb-held parts of Bosnia opened here on Thursday [1 April] before the International Court of Justice.

Legal experts representing Bosnia-Herzegovina asked the court grant urgent measures to stop the blood-letting and enable the Sarajevo government to get military help from abroad, including weapons and manpower.

Attorney Francis Boyle, a professor of American law at the University of Illinois, argued that the 1991 U.N. Security Council resolution banning weapons sales to all the republics of the former Yugoslavia could not be applied to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The opposing side is expected to raise the same argument on its own behalf when the case proceeds Friday.

Israeli Attorney Shabtai Rosenne, who is representing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) comprising Serbia and Montenegro, said "the main question is the interpretation of the United Nations Charter by the Security Council and the International Court of Justice."

He said Thursday's session was filled with "allegations, none of them new, and our basic intention is to fall back on the law."

Another aspect in the case is the unclear status of the rump Yugoslavia. It has been barred from U.N. General Assembly sittings since last September but it is still listed as a U.N. member, along with Bosnia-Herzegovina and the two other former Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

Rosenne said he also plans to raise the question of whether the world court is legally competent to decide on the issue of genocide.

A memorandum presented to the court by the Bosnian side stated: "Not since the end of the Second World War and the revelations of the horrors of Nazi Germany's 'final solution' has Europe witnessed the utter destruction of a people, for no other reason than they belong to a particular national, ethical, racial and religious group as such."

The world court, which turned down a Belgrade request to delay the opening of the proceedings, is expected to rule in the case next week.

Assembly Approves Bill on Basic Human Rights

AU0104191893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report by Pandeli Shehu]

[Text] [Announcer] After several days of debates, the bill on basic human rights and freedoms has been approved. Let us listen to a report by our correspondent:

[Shehu] To applause from the deputies present in the hall, the People's Assembly gave general approval to the bill on basic human rights and freedoms at 1430 today.

This bill, the initiative of the president of the Republic, is a supplement to the main constitutional provisions. Concerning this and on the basis of the regulations and main constitutional provisions, it was necessary to approve it with a two-third majority of the deputies present at the session.

Although it was approved in principle, only 126 deputies were present. The result of the ballot was as follows: 95 deputies voted in favor, three independent deputies against, and 27 deputies of the Socialist Party parliamentary group abstained. One deputy did not vote.

President Sali Berisha was himself present while the bill was being discussed and approved article by article. We should say that this was a very long session characterized by many discussions, remarks, and suggestions to improve various articles of this bill. We should also say that the debate on this bill was really a marathon, which started last week. Concerning the discussions in principle, more than 70 deputies participated, deputies from all the parliamentary groups and others participating in the People's Assembly.

As we have stressed and you have been following on television, time and again these discussions about one of the most important bills were not free from certain party prejudices. This bill aroused interest not only at home, but also abroad, as a clear indication of our country's determination to march along the real road to democracy.

The approval for this bill finally guarantees the rights and freedoms that were denied our people for whole decades; in it an effort has been made to establish through constitutional laws those rights and freedoms that belong to all our citizens.

As we have been informed before, the draft of the constitution of the Republic of Albania is expected to be presented on 16 June. It is being prepared by a commission set up for the purpose. By approving the bill on basic human rights and freedoms article by article, an important gap in our legislation has been filled, which is directly connected with defending human rights and freedoms.

The assembly will continue its proceedings at 1700 this afternoon by discussing other bills on the agenda and approved by the deputies.

Meksi Congratulates New French Prime Minister

AU0104184993 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi sent a congratulatory telegram to Mr. Edouard Balladur on the occasion of his election to the post of the prime minister of the Republic of France. The telegram states:

It is a special pleasure for me to greet you on the victory of the right forces in the present legislative elections and wish you much success in the difficult and responsible task of prime minister of the new government of the French Republic.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my conviction and that of the government that with you as prime minister, our bilateral relations will know new achievements and will be further implemented to benefit the mutual interest of our peoples and countries, as well as understanding and security in the region and in Europe.

National Assembly Ratifies Treaty With Italy

AU0104164493 Sofia BTA in English 1313 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 1 (BTA)—Parliament today enacted legislation ratifying the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Italy. The motion was carried without a single vote against or an abstention.

The treaty was signed on January 9, 1992 in Rome and is part of a series of bilateral political acts initiated by Bulgaria in the last few years. "These acts realized Bulgaria's desire to overcome the consequences of the foreign policy of the totalitarian regime," says the reasoning to the ratification motion. "Italy is one of Bulgaria's traditional partners in Western Europe." The treaty is seen as "a cornerstone in the system of bilateral treaties with the advanced states of Europe."

Speaking at the debates on the motion, MP's [members of parliament] of different factions pointed out that Bulgarian-Italian contacts will be enhanced with the enactment of this legislation. It was expressly pointed out that the treaty is not directed against any third country. Mr. Ibrahim Tatarlu MP of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms delivered an extensive speech on Bulgarian-Italian relations.

The 15-year treaty makes provisions for political, economic, scientific, technological, financial and environmental cooperation. The high contracting parties attach primary importance to cooperation in power engineering, transport and communications. There are also provisions on cooperation in combating narcotics trafficking and organized crime.

Parliament Ratifies Money-Laundering Convention

AU0104185693 Sofia BTA in English 1554 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 1 (BTA)—The Bulgarian National Assembly today passed legislation ratifying the Council of Europe Convention concerning the laundering, tracing, seizure and confiscation of benefits of crime.

Bulgaria signed the convention on September 28, 1992 and undertook, along with the other signatories, to lay the groundwork of a comprehensive system of international cooperation to prevent enrichment from criminal activities.

"Bulgaria's inclusion into the mechanism of international cooperation laid down by the convention is expedient and timely because of the problems which Bulgarian investigative and judicial authorities confront with the rising crime in Bulgaria and the probability that international criminal syndicates may operate in Bulgarian territory," reads the reasoning to the motion. It is expressly noted that the problems for the solution of which Bulgaria undertakes to cooperate by signing the convention can hardly be solved through the individual efforts of the separate states.

The act of ratification contains a special declaration on the article concerning confiscated property, saying that "the party approached shall dispose of any confiscated property in accordance with its domestic law, save as otherwise expressly agreed with the party concerned." Bulgaria declares that in the application of this article it will seek to achieve, on the basis of mutual understanding, a restoration of confiscated property to a state party to the convention, to which Bulgaria could have laid a claim.

Because of the probability that the commitments which Bulgaria assumed by joining the convention might be inconsistent with provisions of Bulgarian legislation, as well as on account of Bulgarian interests, Bulgaria signed the convention with reservations admissible under its provisions.

Delegation to IAEA Cochairs Resolution on DPRK

AU0204052993 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 1 (BTA)—Bulgaria is among the 20 states which co-sponsored a resolution of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), adopted in connection with the decision of the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to withdraw from the Treaty on The Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [NPT], the Foreign Ministry's Press Center announced. Co-sponsoring this resolution, Bulgaria Reaffirmed its concern over the decision in question and its principled stand that the strict observance of the NPT is an essential prerequisite for securing the viability and stabilizing role of the non-proliferation regime. The work of the Bulgarian delegation at the meeting of the IAEA Board of Governors reflected this country's hope that the DPRK government will reconsider its decision to withdraw from the NPT and will continue to fulfill its obligations under this treaty.

Cabinet Discusses Observance of UN Sanctions

AU0204053393 Sofia BTA in English 1826 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 1 (BTA)—Today the government decided to continue the construction of the underground railway in Sofia. The Ministry of Finance will provide 48 percent of the funds needed this year and the Sofia City Council will have to raise the rest.

The cabinet accepted Prime Minister Lyuben Berov's report on the conclusion of a memorandum of understanding on the status of the Sanctions Assistance Mission of the European Community and the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe. It considered the agreement with the U.S. administration on technical

assistance in the application of sanctions along the Danube. An official of the Council of Ministers' Press Service said that the question was about the three patrol boats recently provided by the United States. In the opinion of the cabinet, their maintenance will be rather expensive, that is why the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should apply for financial aid to the Sanctions Committee of the UN Security Council.

The cabinet approved a programme for cooperation in science, education and culture between Bulgaria and Mongolia in 1993-1995.

The cabinet issued a decree concerning the customs regulations for articles travelers can bring in or take out of Bulgaria. Items acquired abroad, whose unit or total value does not exceed 300 U.S. dollars or their equivalent in another currency, are brought in duty-free and without paying import taxes. The customs duty on items valued at 300 to 1,500 dollars is 30 percent, import tax is not chargeable. Items exceeding the value of 1,500 dollars are chargeable with customs duty as per the tariff applicable to juristic persons and single merchants, import taxes are also payable.

Envoy Invites Defense Minister To Visit Israel

AU0104123393 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Colonel Ivan Sotirov]

[Text] On 25 March, Bulgarian Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov met Me'ir Yoffe, the Israeli ambassador to Bulgaria.

During their talks they reviewed the development of contacts in recent years between the two countries' Defense Ministries and examined the opportunities for cooperation in the military field. Ambassador Yoffe stressed that the Israeli side is greatly interested in developing relations with Bulgaria in the context of the overall policy of the State of Israel. He pointed out that in accordance with this policy, Israel had on two occasions invited the Bulgarian Defense Minister to visit Israel, but the visits did not take place due to objective reasons. One of the aims of my visit today, the Israeli ambassador said, is to confirm the official invitation for you to visit Israel as Bulgarian defense minister.

Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov thanked him for the invitation and said that he accepts it in principle, but the time of his visit will be confirmed later. He stated that the Bulgarian Army is very interested in the experience of the Israeli Army, and outlined the areas in which the two countries' Defense Ministries might develop their cooperation.

Government Increases Civil Servants' Wages

AU0104185593 Sofia BTA in English 1538 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 1 (BTA)—The government adopted a decree on increasing the average gross salary in the state-financed sector by 41.2 percent as of March 1, 1993, the increase is 43.5 percent for the sphere of health care and education.

The decision was made after long negotiations with trade unions and employers within the framework of the National Council for Social Cooperation. However, the trade unions did not yield their initial position insisting on an increase of 47.4 percent of salaries, unindexed to inflation for a year, and signed the minutes on the council's meeting with reservations. That we did not come to an agreement on all points does not mean an end to social partnership, the participants said expressing their satisfaction with the work of the council despite the dissenting opinions.

The government cannot afford any larger increase, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov said. Even the one granted by the government is questionable, its regular payment would depend on the budget revenue. The 1993 national budget has not been passed yet. Next week the government is expected to approve the draft budget and then submit it to parliament. In the opinion of the Parliamentary Economic Committee, the debates on the budget will hardly open before the end of April. Until the budget is passed, the Ministry of Finance cannot afford to spend more than one-twelfth of last year's budget indexed to inflation. The present rise of salaries in the state-financed sector exceeds this limit but it was unavoidable because of mounting social tension.

The government has recently increased the amount of minimum wages, pensions and social benefits. By agreement with the trade unions, salaries are to be indexed to inflation every quarter.

Fund President 'Blackmailed' by Secret Policeman

AU0104161393 Prague CTK in English 2132 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 30 (CTK)— A group of people linked to the former regime in Czechoslovakia had wanted to discredit top political and constitutional representatives of the Czech Republic, Viktor Kozeny, president of the Harvard Investment Funds, told CTK today.

The Harvard Investment Privatization Funds control property the book value of which is more than 16 billion crowns (about 510 million USD). The market value is estimated at 38 to 45 billion crowns (over one billion to 1.5 billion USD). The total market value of the companies in which the funds have significant stakes exceeds 136 billion crowns (about 4.3 billion USD).

Kozeny said that almost throughout last year he had been blackmailed by a former worker of the now-defunct Secret Police (StB) and later of the Federal Security and Information Service (FSIS).

He said this was proved by documents which he could see as the damaged party in proceedings opened against the FSIS blackmailer.

The documents... prove that most likely myself and our firm were not the only ones to be targeted by the man. Top political and constitutional officials were also to be discredited, Kozeny said.

He stressed that he paid 500,000 crowns (about 17,000 USD) to the former FBIS agent for not being discredited and added that in his case the discredit attempt was aimed against the Harvard Investment Funds.

The FBIS worker indicated that a societal order had been placed with him, aimed at discrediting my firm and myself, Kozeny said.

He denied the reception of any confidential information from the blackmailer, but admitted that the former FSIS agent was forcing him to accept it.

But I bought no information from him. I will lodge a complaint against anybody who would assert anything else, Kozeny stressed.

At a press conference today, he said that at the beginning he did not know he had been blackmailed by a secret service worker.

I thought I was being blackmailed by a normal street mafia. The blackmailer asserted that he was holding a post which allowed him to liquidate me and my firm, Kozeny said. He added he had agreed to be blackmailed out of fear.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 30 March on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word "CTK, mag"-signed report on the above case. The MLADA FRONTA DNES report adds that the blackmailer was detained on 7 December 1992 when he wanted to sell Kozeny "compromising materials" about the Harvard Investment Funds for 100,000 korunas. The report also quotes Stanislav Devaty, acting director of the Czech Republic Security and Information Service [BIS], as saying that the blackmailer was discharged from the Federal Security and Information Service last December and that "a number of members of the former federal counterintelligence were not admitted into the Czech BIS on the basis of this case."]

Foreign Minister on Havel's Criticism of Ministry

LD0104193793 Prague CTK in English 1628 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 1 (CTK)—The criticism by the Czech President's Office of the Foreign Ministry is connected more with differing political views than with the views on mutual cooperation, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said at a press conference of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

President Havel criticised on Friday [26 March] the poor cooperation between the two offices saying that the President's Office was not getting the documents required in the appropriate quality.

The Castle (Presidents Office) has never complained about the ministrys work in the three years which have passed since the revolution (November 1989 overthrow of the communist rule), although I know that its performance was very poor, Zieleniec said. But no one deemed it necessary to speak about it in public, he added.

The fact that this is voiced now in public is perhaps connected more with the differing political views than with the differing views of how things should be working, Zieleniec said.

During his visit to Austria on March 15 Havel called the transfer of the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia after World War Two morally defective and unjust. This has drawn criticism from some ODS politicians.

Asked whether he meant the differing views between the ministry and Havel, Zieleniec said that it was up to journalists to draw conclusions.

The former Czechoslovakia's foreign minister were Civic Movement (OH) Chairman Jiri Dienstbier (December 1989-July 1992) and Slovak politician Jozef Moravcik (July 1992 till the end of 1992).

Havel 'Surprised' by Remarks

LD0104212093 Prague CTK in English 2039 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 1 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel was surprised by statements by Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec about political differences that allegedly impair the newly constituted cooperation

between the Presidential Office and the ministry, Havel's spokesman Ladislav Spacek told CTK today.

Spacek was referring to today's statement by Zieleniec that the Presidential Office was criticising his (Foreign) Ministry due to different political views rather than due to different stands on mutual cooperation.

At none of his recent meetings with the minister (Zieleniec), Mr. President came to the conclusion that their views on any essential questions differed. On the contrary, when he and Slovak President Michal Kovac broadly discussed foreign political issue (during the latter's visit to Prague on March 30-31), Minister Zieleniec said that he agreed on all points with Mr. President, Spacek said.

Havel was complaining of cooperation between the two offices, but at the same time he said that the cooperation was quickly improving and he believed that it would be free of mistakes soon. Maybe Minister Zieleniec did not notice this, Spacek noted.

In reaction to Zieleniec's statement that the Presidential Office had not lodged a single complaint against the Foreign Ministry since late 1989, when the communist regime was toppled in Czechoslovakia, Spacek said that Havel knew that the ministry had faced various troubles while being completely restructured and that it had made mistakes. But Mr. President had no essential reason to complain of the technical aspects of the two institutions' cooperation. But he found the documents coming from the ministry at that time to be of a low quality, Spacek explained.

Socialists 'Shocked' by Havel's 29 March Remarks

AU0104162793 Prague CTK in English 1336 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 30 (CTK)— The Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS) is seriously disturbed by remarks made by Czech President Vaclav Havel by which he continually condemns the post-war transfer of Sudeten Germans from Czech border regions, said CSS Chairman Ladislav Dvorak at a press conference here today.

Dvorak said that the CSS considers this chapter of history to be closed. Dvorak, commenting on Havel's statements during Monday's briefing at Prague Castle, said that the CSS is shocked that the president of the Republic did not mention who was at fault for World War II, what its results were, or that the outcome of World War II led us directly into communism. It would be better for him to concern himself with compensation for Czech citizens who suffered during the war, for instance by being sent into forced labor in Germany, he said.

Official Views State of Talks on Refugees' Repatriation

AU0104162393 Prague CTK in English 1959 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw March 30 (CTK)— Czech Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendrych met today in Warsaw with his Polish counterpart Jerzy Zimowski to discuss the refugee problem and a bilateral agreement on returning refugees, currently under preparation.

Before returning to Prague, Fendrych told CTK that Zimowski had informed him about the German Interior Minister Rudolf Seiters's visit to Warsaw. The Czech and Polish Interior Ministers Jan Ruml and Andrzej Milczanowski had earlier agreed on a mutual exchange of information about each side's negotiations with German representatives.

It is in keeping with our intention that the Central European countries which attended the Prague conference take identical steps in concluding bilateral agreements on returning refugees, in granting asylums and in monitoring the foreigners from third countries, who enter their territories, Fendrych stated.

The Prague conference on the refugee problem in Central Europe was held on March 16 and attended by the Czech and Slovak Republics, Poland, Hungary, Austria and Slovenia.

Fendrych stressed that a Czech-Polish agreement on returning refugees must be concluded in the shortest time possible. The Czech Republic has already obtained the draft agreement from Poland. We would like to sign the agreement within a month, Fendrych said. He added that the signing of the Czech-Polish agreement is linked to the signing of a similar agreement between the Czech Republic and Hungary. The Hungarian draft agreement still does not include a commitment to mutually transfer foreigners from third countries.

Klaus Congratulates New French Prime Minister

LD0104211493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Now that the Czech Republic has emerged as a sovereign state and the new ruling coalition in France has been formed, it is in the interest of both the Czech Republic and France to strengthen relations between the two countries and to gradually set them in a wider European context, said Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in a letter of congratulations to Edouard Balladur, the new French prime minister.

The Czech prime minister has also invited the French prime minister to visit the Czech Republic.

Knazko Warns HZDS Against Meciar

AU0104192093 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Mar 93 p 3

["Excerpts" of speech by Milan Knazko, deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, at the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Assembly in Trnava on 28 March]

[Text] ...before the [June 1992] elections, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] was the darling of the majority of journalists. Today the overwhelming majority of the journalistic community stands in opposition to us, precisely because of incompetent execution of acquired power and also because of application of erroneous methods of political work in the conditions of freedom of speech. Just recall: Immediately after the elections, the HZDS chairman made it clear that his government would not respect the independence of the institutions of public service, such as, for example, television. He publicly declared that he would have the television director replaced, adding that the new director would probably come from the HZDS and that "you can look forward to him." Can you imagine what it means abroad when the chairman of the victorious party in Slovakia calls for the so-called ethical self-regulation of journalists? This term of Vladimir Meciar literally went around the world. This was a call for a return to self-censorship. In brief: If someone wanted to order a scenario of steps mobilizing critics among journalists and creating for the winner of the elections, the HZDS, a bad reputation abroad, he could not have ordered anything surpassing that which Vladimir Meciar did in relation to the media and domestic and foreign journalists.

Another example illustrating the direction of the HZDS chairman's policy is the evolution of the HZDS's position on the Slovak political scene. It is a fact that after the elections we have failed to cultivate a single reliable political partnership. Quite the contrary, if some parties initially trusted that it was possible to cooperate with the prime minister, his policy finally convinced them of the opposite. Today there is virtually no political party or movement that would be willing to join Meciar's government.

The trade unions, from which we drew considerable support before the elections, are attacking us today and, what is more, they are doing so in unison with the organizations of private businessmen. To antagonize at one and the same time organizations defending the interests of employees and entrepreneurs is a unique political accomplishment. As a result of mistakes and, sometimes, literally politics of power by representatives of the movement at the head of some ministerial departments, large groups from among the educated strata of the population—teachers, physicians, health care employees, and intellectuals in general—stand in opposition to us.

I am sorry to have to say that, for quite some time now, the methods of political work have been becoming increasingly authoritarian and unacceptable to me. I am resolutely opposed to improvisation and lies becoming a method of political work in the HZDS.

A politician can be a specialist, an intellectual, a tribune—he can be all these things. However, there is one thing that he must be—a credible human being. That is why politicians everywhere in the world look out for lies. Vladimir Meciar uses lies as a method of work and that not only in his public appearances, but in internal party life as well. During the entire two years [of his HZDS chairmanship], the HZDS chairman has repeatedly been making untrue public statements. The press and the public in our country but, to a large extent, also abroad has been registering them, analyzing them, and, often, ridiculing them. I dare claim that it is precisely because of his frequent untrue statements that Vladimir Meciar has not gained a good reputation in Europe. The latest example of a public lie is his claim that, when pressuring the president to recall me, he did not use the argument "either I or he." This untruth has been laid bare by the president himself.

I could cite a number of other examples but will content myself with only one: the dispute between the [HZDS] deputy chairmen and chairman in December 1991. Even earlier we (that is, Michal Kovac, Rudolf Filkus, Augustin Huska, and myself) realized independently of one another that [Meciar's secretary] Anna Nagyova and [head of Slovak Government Office] Ivan Lexa were deforming contacts between the deputy chairmen and the chairman. The use of intrigues, work deficiencies, and a generally low standard—those were the reasons that made us ask that they be transferred. The chairman promised that they would be given other assignments. You can see yourselves how he lived up to that promise. One week ago, he even proposed Ivan Lexa to the post of director of the Slovak Information Service, which I consider to be a mockery of expertise and another in a series of confrontational decisions. The method of defending Anna Nagyova is also worth mentioning. Vladimir Meciar declared that she had in her hands materials that would allow her to destroy him within 24 hours. Today I am asking Vladimir Meciar in front of all of you: Which of the democratically elected bodies of the movement decided that Mrs. Nagyova should avail herself of information that is suited to destroy the HZDS or its chairman? The next question: Who decided that our operations should contain activities, on the basis of which it would be possible to blackmail us?

Dear friends, it is high time to return to open, cooperative teamwork in our policy. I am warning against the HZDS becoming a one-man party. I am warning against decisions by the movement's chairman becoming uncriticizable. I am warning against the threat of a political fiasco, if we continue to agree with the use of confrontational methods. The HZDS is standing on the edge of an abyss. Fortunately, there is a crossroads, this

assembly. I propose that we start preparing an extraordinary congress that would make it possible to assess decisions after an internal party debate. Prior to this assembly, we as delegates were not even given the opportunity to familiarize ourselves in due time with the proposed agenda, the proposed changes in the statutes, the report on [the movement's] activity, and other materials. No internal party discussion took place. Let us pause and look at the situation as it is, without rose-colored glasses. Let us try to recall the ideals and aims with which we started and with which we contested the elections. If we fail to do this and pretend that everything is okay, then we will be reminded of it by others.

Liberal Faction Announces Departure From HZDS

AU0104133393 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 30 Mar 93 p 2

[TA SR report in the "Parties and Movements" column]

[Text] A liberal party should be founded in Slovakia in the near future, representatives of the Liberal Democrats faction told reporters in Bratislava yesterday. They said that the Democratic Party's departure from the party's original program and its decision to pursue a conservative political orientation also meant the departure of liberals from the party. The faction will seek the formation of a liberal political force enforcing, above all, civic liberties and acceleration of economic transformation and recovery. The faction views Slovak President Michal Kovac's participation in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Assembly as a poor diplomatic move because "only a few days after his rhetorical attempts to address the public by his nonpartisanship he called for HZDS unity at the movement's assembly."

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 30 March on page 3 carries the following CTK report on the Liberal Democrats' Bratislava briefing: "Milan Knazko, who left the HZDS ranks this weekend, could become the leader of a new liberal party that the liberal faction of the Democratic Party, headed by Jan Holcik, intends to set up. This was stated by Branislav Zahradnik, chairman of the Democratic Youth of Slovakia, yesterday."]

Democratic Party Holds Congress, Elects Chairman

AU0104133593 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Mar 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "They Opted for Conservative Orientation; The Democratic Party Held an Extraordinary Congress in Martin"]

[Text] Martin—"The majority of delegates to the extraordinary congress of the Democratic Party [DS], which ended in Martin on Sunday [28 March], opted for the path of conservative orientation," Anton Duris, the newly elected DS chairman, told TA SR. "As transpired from the debate, advocates of the liberal alternative cannot be considered adversaries. They did not leave the deliberations, whereby they essentially endorsed the chosen program. Hence, there cannot be any talk about fragmentation but about dialogue that is characteristic of a democratic party."

The extraordinary congress elected a 48-member Executive Committee, approved amended party statutes, and adopted a new program.

Refugee Agreement Signed With Poland

AU0104162193 Prague CTK in English 1949 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw March 30 (CTK)— Polish and Slovak [Interior] Ministers Andrzej Milczanowski and Jozef Tuchyna signed today in Zakopane, Poland, an agreement on the returning of refugees, reports the APA agency.

[Czech] Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendrych discussed today in Warsaw the preparation of a similar Czech-Polish agreement. In an interview for CTK he said he intended to conclude the agreement within one month.

Government To Accept Hague Court Decision on Dam

LD3103204393 Budapest MTI in English 1944 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 31 (MTI)—The Hungarian side has accepted the EC's proposal that Hungary and Slovakia should sign the declaration recognising as compulsory the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), with regard to their debate over the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power plant, in Brussels on April 7. This is what Janos Martonyi, administrative state secretary of foreign affairs, wrote in a letter today to Hans van den Broek, European Commission member in charge of foreign affairs.

In the letter, Martonyi expressed regret that, although the Hungarian side had accepted most of the Slovak Government's proposals for amending the declaration, Bratislava has not yet confirmed approval of the modified text.

Martonyi proposed that, simultaneously with the signing of the Brussels declaration, the two countries should continue their talks concerning a temporary water management scheme based on the EC's proposals.

Assembly Ratifies Helsinki Open Skies Agreement

LD3003154293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1452 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Vote presented by Deputy Speaker Matyas Szueroes from the 30 March National Assembly relay—recorded]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Szueroes] I ask the esteemed National Assembly whether it adopts the Draft National Assembly Resolution on the ratification of the Open Skies Agreement signed in Helsinki on 24 March 1992. Please vote.

[Reporter] A hundred percent.

[Szueroes] I announce that with 207 votes for, without votes against or abstentions, the National Assembly has adopted the Draft Resolution. [end recording]

Goncz, Austria's Klestil Brief Journalists on Talks

LD0104182393 Budapest MTI in English 1521 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 1 (MTI)—Relations between Hungary and Austria are now better than ever before, but links could be even closer, Austrian President Thomas Klestil told an international press conference held jointly with his host, President Arpad Goncz, at the end of his two-day official visit here.

Talks covered all angles of bilateral relations, including the farm agreement signed last Friday, road transit licences, and employment of Hungarians in Austria, Goncz told reporters, adding that cooperation between neighbouring regions was also discussed.

Goncz stressed Hungary's interest in Austria joining the European Community and paving the way for Hungary's admission.

Klestil said that attaining full EC membership was a political priority for Austria, which, however, must not affect the fulfilment of commitments to neighbours in Central Europe.

Goncz saw the Central European Initiative (CEI) stabilising and coordinating political and economic interests. Both presidents hoped Italy, shaken by bribery scandals, would not leave the CEI.

Both heads of state saw Wednesday's Security Council South Slav crisis decision as a big achievement, but thought a long-term solution was only feasible by settling minority questions.

Ethnic conflicts are a serious threat today, Klestil stated. Austria and Hungary could largely promote a solution by taking part in drafting a code of conduct towards minorities, he said.

Austria was proposing an environmental Marshall Plan, journalists were told. Goncz welcomed the idea as a possible example for regional cooperation across the whole of Europe.

Austria's president returned to Vienna by special plane on Thursday afternoon.

Ethnic Hungarian Leaders From Slovakia Visit Hungary

AU3103160193 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, 29 Mar (MTI)—A parliamentary group of ethnic Hungarians from Slovakia and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall discussed ethnic Hungarians' status in Slovakia on Monday [29 March].

Ethnic Hungarian delegates were led by Slovakia's Coexistence Political Movement Chairman Miklos Duray and Slovakia's Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Bela Bugar.

In a statement on 19 august 1992, the Hungarian Government stressed that it would back proposals brought up by legitimate representatives of ethnic Hungarians which complied with the UN Charter, the Paris Charter, and other international conventions. Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia have their own social and political structure, and they have preserved the structure of their settlements, developed over centuries, and their language and culture. They form a majority of the population in most regions inhabited by them, says a communique issued by the Hungarian Government spokesperson's office about the Monday talks.

At the talks, the sides agreed that for the peaceful development of Central Europe, all nations must help strengthen security and cooperation. The most acceptable solution of the problem in the region, the sides said, was for the ethnic communities to build their grassroots organisations and a local self-government system based on the principle of subsidiaries.

Current best hopes are in creating a system of local and regional authorities, to represent the interests of the majority population living in that particular area, and in personal freedom, to protect those in a minority in the area.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Bosnia Peace Plan

LD0104201493 Warsaw PAP in English 1637 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 1—The Polish Foreign Ministry voiced satisfaction over the signing of the principal document of the Vance-Owen peace plan by the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and a delegation of Bosnian Croats, the Press Department at the ministry said on Thursday.

The fact arouses hope that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will come to an end, the ministry stressed.

The responsibility for the further course of the peace process now rests with the delegation of Bosnian Serbs who should immediately accept the peace plan and start implementing it.

Germany Seals Border With Poland

LD0104182593 Warsaw PAP in English 1534 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Szczecin, April 1—Germany apparently seals its border with Poland, a border guard official in the province of Szczecin said on Thursday.

The same source, who asked not to be identified, said that German foot patrols have been recently seen on the Polish-German border in the Szczecin Province.

Such patrolling is better because it enables tracking down persons crossing illegally.

No-Confidence Vote Against Minister Rejected

LD0204084193 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 2—The Sejm (lower house) on Friday rejected a no-confidence motion against Privatization Minister Janusz Lewandowski with 147 deputies voting in favour, 175 against and 51 abstentions.

The motion was put forward by the right-wing Confederation for Independent Poland.

Geremek Considers Expanding Coalition Government

AU0104185093 Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 29 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Professor Bronislaw Geremek, leader of the Democratic Union Parliamentary Club, by Wojciech Sosnierz; place and date not given: "What's Happening in the Coalition, Sir?"]

[Text] [Sosnierz] What is your assessment of the state of the governing coalition?

[Geremek] Following the mass privatization vote, the coalition is to some extent in a state of crisis. I think that passing the mass privatization program would provide a quick way out of the situation. It would show that the coalition is still effective. I have always said that a broad coalition base is essential for this government, which has to implement a bold reform policy. It has not been possible to create that kind of base so far. In fact, it would even appear that the contrary is happening, that the coalition has in a sense contracted.

[Sosnierz] What are you thinking of?

[Geremek] In the vote on the mass privatization program, a substantial group of ZChN [Christian-National Union] deputies did not vote the way they were instructed to by their club. If that group becomes completely autonomous in its actions, that might weaken the coalition. We expect a clear response from the ZChN on this matter.

[Sosnierz] Does that mean that there is a possibility of early parliamentary elections?

[Geremek] I think that from the viewpoint of party interests, the Democratic Union [UD] stands to gain a great deal if parliamentary elections are held soon. However, in our opinion, that would involve destabilizing the state and a defeat for the reform camp in a broad sense. That is why we will not be seeking early elections.

[Sosnierz] In a statement that was recently published, the Peasant Accord [PL] placed a whole series of conditions on its participation in the coalition.

[Geremek] It is true that the PL has published such a document. I only saw it in the press. I believe that a condition for remaining in the coalition is above all discipline in voting on issues of basic importance for the government's existence. In my opinion, that is the decision that the PL faces.

[Sosnierz] One Polish Peasant Party [PSL] leader, Jozef Zych, deputy marshal of the Sejm, recently stated that his party was interested in entering the coalition....

[Geremek] We have talked about this with the PSL on numerous occasions. The talks did give rise to hope, which caused sparks to fly in the Sejm debating hall; there was a prevailing atmosphere of demagogy and a reluctance to support a policy that we would term reform-oriented. I studied Mr. Zych's public statement very carefully and found it to contain an acceptance of the proposed expansion of the coalition and an acceptance of the program at the same time. If Mr. Zych represents the views of the PSL leadership in this respect, then that gives rise to genuine hope for the coalition.

[Sosnierz] Does that mean exchanging the PL for the PSL?

[Geremek] I would prefer there not to be that kind of exchange. I would prefer the government coalition to be so broad that it would not be necessary to drag the sick out of bed and call off important foreign visits every time

there is a vote. In a nutshell, I hope that the PL will remain in the coalition and that the PSL will join it.

[Sosnierz] Are you not considering the possibility of including other groupings in the coalition.

[Geremek] I should reply to that diplomatically by saying that we do have hopes to that effect and that we will see. However, I will reply realistically that at the present time the grouping that could be brought into the coalition to expand it is the PSL, and I would leave it at that.

Walesa Speaks to Poznan Workers on Communists

WS0204101693

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish at 2205 GMT on 26 March carries a ten-minute report on the president's visit to the Cegielski Plant in Poznan.

The program opens with the video showing the president, his spokesman, and some other persons entering a big room where many plant workers have already gathered. Walesa then responds to the workers' questions.

The first worker to speak says that the Poznan region has always boasted that it has the most resourceful and thrifty people in Poland. He proposes that since the situation even in this region is very bad, the president should do something to control it. The president explains that the situation cannot improve overnight. We need more effective management, and we must do our best ourselves. He encourages more contacts with deputies and senators.

Another man complains that even though he has worked very hard for many years, he now has to go and look for things in garbage cans. The president appeals to the workers to stop regarding him as someone who wants to deceive people, who wants to take things away from them. He explains the reasons for this situation, and asks them for solidarity.

The next person asks the president when he will review the situation that currently exists in which state company workers live in poverty while the companies supply most of the revenues to the budget. The president responds that a major mistake made at the beginning of this revolution was that we did not solve the problem of big industrial plants. Small companies, the president says, will always get by. He also points out that we have to differentiate between those plants that are doing well in the new situation, and those that cannot cope with the new problems.

The next worker asks when the former communists will be made to apologize to the people for the moral damage that they created. The president points out that we cannot use methods that were employed by the communists. He says, however, that he believes that the heirs to the communist party should apologize.

Next a man expresses his disapproval of the fact that the president sent best wishes to the former communists, that is, those who took part in the congress of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland, which was held a few days ago. The president replies that in his letter there was a whole paragraph in which he encouraged the leaders of the party to apologize for the past. He points out, however, that he cannot discriminate against anyone. Walesa says:

"The first question that was asked here was: When will they apologize to us? I know that most of those people are from the generation that does not have the faintest idea about all this. However, I wanted to achieve the same. And so, in my letter there was the following thing, there was a whole paragraph saying: I hope, I count on it, and I encouraged them to do this. I wanted to achieve this. However, you have not noticed it. You have noticed that I have some sympathies and antipathies. Well, I will not change my view of the world, I will not change at all, I will stay on this side, that is, the right wing and not the left wing. However, when I want to build a normal country, I cannot force anyone to put a spoke in our wheels. I must encourage and provoke. I must do it because we will all have to take care of our country, including the left wing, if we want to have a normal country".

The next question concerns security on the streets. The worker recalls that the president promised that he would eliminate the problem within three months. In reply, Walesa says that he supported the idea of draftees entering the police. However, he adds, we should not have opened our eastern border, because those people are making a lot of trouble. He also mentions the need for the National Guard.

Next the president is asked about what he is going to do about his political opponents, such as Kaczynski. He responds that they do not bother him much. He adds that he is not struggling for power. He is struggling to maintain the direction of the Polish reforms. He also adds that the people will soon see for themselves who was and who was not a communist agent. Walesa says:

"I can be replaced. I know that I am perhaps not the best possible president. To answer your question quite bluntly, they are making a rod for their own backs. I am not fighting for power. I am fighting for the success of this direction of the changes. And therefore, I may stay alone on the battlefield, but I will defend the Polish reforms to the last drop of sweat and blood. I will also defend the Polish democratic direction. Indeed, I have opponents. I have them for various reasons. Soon you are going to see for yourselves who was an agent and who helps agents and was really an agent. You will find out who deceives Poland and who does not. Therefore, I said that I would send my own wife to prison if she committed an offense. I am made this way, and many people will not like me for that. And when I am no longer president, I will not look at the Belvedere for at least five

years. It requires so much health and hard work that I can tell you that it is really not a fortunate place".

In conclusion, the president appeals to the workers to participate in the construction of the Third Republic.

Party Leaders on Cooperation With Left

PM0104144193 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 24 Mar 93 p 3

[Statements by leading politicians in response to GLOS PORANNY question: "What place do you envisage today for left-oriented parties in our system? Is cooperation with them possible, and if so, on what conditions?"; respondents' replies recorded by correspondent Henryk Sroczynski]

[Text] [Piotr Nowina-Konopka, Democratic Union general secretary] There are many interpretations of the statement made by Mr. Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and concerning cooperation with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. His intention—as declared during a Democratic Union Presidium session—was not to open up the coalition toward the SLD, but to make an attempt at transforming our relations with the political groups placed to the left of the Democratic Union, at least to the extent that would allow us to set up an understanding with them. The reality is that we have some difficulty in coming to such an understanding with them in concrete, specific cases—even though we could possibly have had an ally in them in these cases. I believe that, apart from the generalized ideological platform on which it is difficult to share certain basic views, there is still an area within which we could actually share some opinions and vote together.

[Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, member of Democratic Left Alliance parliamentary caucus] Unfortunately, the condition of the economy and the current unfavorable situation in which working people find themselves amply confirm all our earlier expectations. When our arguments prevail and our intentions are understood better, a more favorable environment begins to develop gradually for the left orientation in our politics. I am thinking here not only of the post-PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] left orientation, but also of the Union of Labor. It is no wonder that utterances pointing to the need for a dialogue with the left and eventual cooperation with it are heard nowadays with increasing frequency among the ruling elites. I share the view of my colleagues from Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] when they speak against joining the government coalition today, even though no one has so far officially suggested such a move. On the other hand, I believe that it is vitally necessary that relations between the ruling parties and political groups and the opposition—including the left-wing opposition—develop according to more civilized models.

[Aleksander Hall, Conservative Party chairman] I note that currently the left-wing camp is reinforcing its position, and also that the differences and divisions between people hailing from the old and the new political configurations are beginning to blur. I am thinking here of the broad-based left-wing camp, including the SLD as well as the SdRP, and the Union of Labor as well as extraparliamentary groups such as, for example, the Polish Socialist Party [PPS]. The left-wing camp is certainly a permanent element on the Polish political stage and it is increasingly brought together not by its shared past but by its future, that is, its envisaged program of action. My party will not enter into an alliance with the left-wing camp, although I do not exclude the possibility of an alliance between the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], Union of Labor, and the SLD. If Wladyslaw Frasyniuk wants to lead his party out of its isolation, then perhaps his ideas and concepts for the future reach even further than he now declares.

[Janusz Korwin-Mikke, leader of Union of Real Politics] When the state is run by incompetents, as it is being run now, then it is better to allow the Union of Labor, the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], and the PSL—supported by the SLD—to assume power until the next election. This is so that Polish people could see exactly what the rule of the left-wing camp looks like. Then, the next election would undoubtedly, and very easily, be won by the Union of Real Politics.

Building Relations With Russia Continues

LD3103203993 Warsaw PAP in English 1908 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 31—Deputy Director of the Foreign Ministry's Department of Europe Jakub Wolasiewicz on Wednesday [31 March] said that Polish-Russian negotiations on compensating mutual debt should end before the Warsaw visit of the Russian president scheduled for June and that 10 bilateral agreements were being prepared as the "second stage of building relations with Russia".

Wolasiewicz also disclosed that the second "round table" conference on Polish cooperation with the Kaliningrad district was expected in the near future and added that a Polish economic mission is likely to visit Sakhalin within the coming two months.

According to Wolasiewicz cooperation with Sakhalin is important for Polish economic interests as most of Polish fisheries are located near the island. He added that there is an opportunity for Polish-Russian cooperation in this region in modernizing transport facilities and above all in constructing port infrastructure and petroleum terminals.

Vacaroiu's Tour of Industrial Regions Reviewed

AU0104145493 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 29 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by Maria Serban Silivas: "Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu Has Returned Home"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's visit to Dolj, Gorj, Hunedoara, and Sibiu counties highlighted the fact that the fundamental branches of the national economy—such as machine building, mining, and the iron and steel industry—are plagued by a number of deficiencies, many of which are tantamount to catastrophe. This is further evidence that those branches have to pay an enormous price during the transition period to a market economy. The prime minister's talks with the employers and union leaders of the Avioane SA [Airplanes Ltd] and Electroputere SA in the town of Craiova, Tirgu Jiu and Petrosani brown coal and pitcoal public corporations, Siderurgica SA and Sidermet SA in the towns of Hunedoara and Calan, as well as those of the Inde SA and Compa SA in Sibiu proved that if those companies are left to swim on their own, they will go under. The outcome of the talks was that the existence of all those companies depends on whether the government can grant them assistance (this is far from the idea of an autocratically run economy, it merely concerns lending a helping hand.)

Help is badly needed, especially because the problems of all those industries are linked, as Minister of Industry Dumitru Popescu himself remarked, and because their dramatic situation is not a mere consequence of what they inherited from the pre-revolutionary period, but rather of the fact that over the past three years none of the governments actually kept the promises they made. That is why the persons who pleaded for government aid in Petrosani, Hunedoara, and Sibiu sometimes also expressed mistrust, as they had been let down by former prime ministers.

At the headquarters of each company the leaders of the enterprises presented charts describing the evolution of production and explained their self-made strategy of overcoming the current crisis. However, all of them requested more funds, the elimination of the current financial blockage, government guarantees for credits, and similar things. The union leaders were even more blatant while expressing their deep concern over mass unemployment.

In the coal-mining areas of Oltenia, as well as in the Jiu Valley, they do not merely ask for more investment funds, but also for new financial resources to increase wages, in view of the cutting of state subsidies [announced for 1 May]. Miron Cosma, the leader of the Coal Miners' Trade Union Confederation, requested firm guarantees from the prime minister that Jiu Valley households will be provided with methane gas (promised but not accomplished by the [Petre] Roman cabinet), a sufficient quantity of drinking water, and that medical assistance will be considerably improved. Besides, being fed up with so many empty promises, Miron Cosma also talked about his personal efforts made both in Romania and abroad, in Germany and Switzerland, to ensure the import of special labor protection technical devices and machines. The miners resent the fact that pitcoal is sold abroad and demanded that all commercial companies engaged in such exports should be investigated.

At the iron and steel plant in Hunedoara, despite the fact that gross profit in 1992 exceeded 2 billion lei and there is no unemployment, union leaders are still not satisfied. They even threatened harsh action. However, the imperative tone used by the union leaders while talking with Premier Vacaroiu did not seem to impress him. Vacaroiu explained to them that the country is passing through such hard times that strikes and other social protest actions can have nothing but destructive consequences, including for the persons who initiate them as well. "I understand that people go on strike when their employer is sitting on a huge pile of money and he can afford to give them some of it," the prime minister told them "frankly."

The answer to "we want to see facts, not words," as the leader of the Petrosani miners' league rightly put it, will probably be given over the next months. Until then, patience...

Bulgarian President's Visit Marks Better Relations

AU0104130493 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 29 Mar 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Rodica Avram: "Romania and Bulgaria Should Not Elbow Their Way Separately"]

[Text] It seems seven hours were enough for the presidents of Romania and Bulgaria to gear their political activity toward specific action that will give Romanian-Bulgarian relations the dynamism both countries are seeking. After a period of stagnation in their bilateral relations—as a result of certain marginal misunderstandings that were, however, utilized much beyond their real dimensions—Bucharest and Sofia reached the conclusion that such a situation was not normal. In his statement on arrival at Otopeni Airport, President Zhelev sought to stress this by saying that it was a pity his first visit to Romania was taking place only now.

Although the Romanian-Bulgarian summit dialogue has consisted of several Iliescu-Zhelev meetings at international meetings attended by the two presidents one can say that the visit of the Romanian head of state to Sofia in January last year set in motion a new course of bilateral relations. Proof of this is that in the short period since then there has been a three-fold increase in trade, even if it is mainly to the credit of private entrepreneurs.

The official talks in Bucharest emphasized that the development of economic relations is still quite modest and the understandings reached aim at intensifying those relations. President Iliescu told reporters that one should

note the mutual political desire to intensify relations between our countries. Certain actions have already taken shape in this respect and the two governments are to finalize them. Among these one could mention the decision to set up joint commissions to create as soon as possible the legal framework to stimulate and guarantee investments, avoid double taxation, and take joint action to facilitate access of Romanian and Bulgarian products to European Community markets, with which both Romanian and Bulgarian are associated. Ensuring the flow of traffic over the Giurgiu-Ruse Bridge, which is currently overcrowded, was an issue broadly discussed, and the sides reached the conclusion that some new border crossing points must be opened. This can be achieved by introducing a ferry and building two new bridges at Silistea-Calarasi and Vidin-Calafat.

One or two years ago bilateral relations were marred by environmental issues; this time, although the issue was broached, the sides did not insist on it. It is clear that the leadership of the two countries decided to promote major interests, and all the other aspects of the Romanian-Bulgarian relations should be approached from the viewpoint of those interests.

In their statements to the press, Presidents Iliescu and Zhelev did not hide the fact that from now on Romania and Bulgaria have decided "not to elbow their way separately" as far as issues confronting the two countries are concerned. The artful but suggestive expression refers to entering European bodies and to positions adopted in connection with the tense situation in our region. "The two islands of stability" in our troubled and uncertain area have similar positions concerning the conflict in Yugoslavia, namely they categorically exclude the possibility of direct participation in the military conflict and foreign military intervention. "If all Balkan countries refuse to get involved in the Yugoslav conflict, then there is no way for that conflict to expand" said President Zhelev, while President Iliescu noted that "Greek Premier Konstandinos Mitsotakis also shares our position." As far as the effects of the embargo imposed by the UN Security Council are concerned, the sides established a joint mandate aimed at obtaining compensation for losses suffered by the Romanian and Bulgarian economies. President Zhelev estimated the amount of those losses for Bulgaria at about $1.5 billion. "Considering that nobody commits himself to giving a deadline for the end of the war in Yugoslavia, said the head of the Bulgarian state, Romania must become the major gateway to Europe for us."

The presidents of Romania and Bulgaria also broached the issue of the political situation in Moldova, and their views were noted: "by supporting President Yeltsin, Romania and Bulgaria actually support the reform and democratic processes in Russia."

North Atlantic Alliance Representative Received

AU0104164093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1412 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/4/1993—Thursday, April 1, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu received Spanish permanent representative at the North-Atlantic Alliance Ambassador Carlos Miranda, who is on a visit to Bucharest.

The foreign ministry spokesman said matters were discussed related to the prospects of the relationship between Eastern Europe and the North Atlantic Organization.

Concurrently opinions were exchanged on the steps to be taken in order to tighten Romania's contacts with the North-Atlantic Council as well as with the alliance's permanent representatives through Romania's diplomatic mission in Brussels. Also tackled were the prospects of the General-European architecture and the rapports between NATO and WEU [Western European Union].

Qatar Foreign Minister Meets With Spiroiu

AU0104164693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1235 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/4/1993—Qatar Foreign Minister Sheikh Hamad Bin-Jasim al Thani, visiting Romania at the invitation of the Romanian foreign ministry, met with Romanian Defense Minister Niculae Spiroiu, on April 1.

At the meeting joined by Qatar inheriting prince, Sheikh Mechel Bin-Hamed al Thani, the parties discussed issues concerning the relations between the two countries and the two Foreign Ministries.

Meets With Iliescu, Departs

AU0204052393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1638 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/4/1993—The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Bin Jasim al-Thani, left Bucharest Thursday, 1 April, concluding his three-day official visit to Romania.

The guest had talks with Romania's President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, and Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu. The Qatarian delegation had talks with other members of the Romanian Government and with representatives of the National Bank of Romania.

The sides signed a minute.

WEU Officials Discuss Reform With Vacaroiu

AU0104185393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1658 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/4/1993—The prime minister of Romania received Thursday, 1 April, at Victoria Palace, the delegation of the Political Committee of the Western European Union (WEU) led by Pieter Steffelen.

The premier made for the guests a general description of the phase reached by the reform process in Romania and the way in which Romania observed the embargo resolved by the UN Security Council against Yugoslavia. He informed the delegation that about 1,000 state-run companies were prepared to go private in 1993 and that "their success depends on domestic capital resources and on the country's credibility abroad," but pointed out that to make the reform successful, foreign financial and technical assistance would be needed, an action in which the Western European Union could play an extremely important role.

In their turn, the guests expressed their wish to support the development of the relations between their organization and Romania and promised to make the necessary recommendations to this effect in the report they are preparing about WEU-East Europe relations.

The delegation also wanted to know the Romanian Government's viewpoint on the issue of human rights observance in Romania, subsequent to contradictory information carried by the international media and conversed with the premier on this topic.

Consult With Ministers

AU0204073393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1817 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/4/1993—The Romanian Foreign Minister and the Western European Union [WEU] Political Committee delegation headed by Dutch member of parliament Pieter Stoffelen had consultations Thursday, 1 April at the seat of the Romanian Foreign Ministry.

The sides approached the main objectives of Romania's foreign policy, namely its fast integration into the European structures, the normalization and development of its relations with the neighboring countries, with a particular stress on its relations with the Republic of Moldova, Hungary and the Ukraine, as well as topics like Romania's position to the Yugoslav crisis and the embargo on the River Danube, and the status of ethnic minorities in Romania.

Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu's copious answers to the delegation's questions were appreciated by Mr. Stoffelen as straightforward and clarifying.

The information supplied will be included in two reports: "WEU and the Central-European countries" and "Europe's future security policy", both to be presented at the first part of the 39th session of the WEU's assembly, due for 14-17 June, in Paris.

The Romanian Minister of National Defense, Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu received today the delegation of the Western European Union's Political Committee, with Pieter Stoffelen at its head.

The minister informed his guests about the stage of the Romanian Army's restructuring and modernization process, about its interests in maintaining and strengthening the country's stability during the period of transition to a new society.

Minister Spiroiu underlined the ascending course of Romania and Romanian Army's relations with NATO and WEU, and with the armies of NATO and WEU member-states boasting a long military tradition, and reasserted the stringent necessity of solving the conflicts in former Yugoslavia by political, diplomatic means, as well as Romania's pledge to undertake nothing that could worsen the confrontation and to do everything in its power to ensure peace in the Balkans, Europe and the whole world.

EC Negotiator Assesses Economic Ties

AU0204092093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0627 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/4/1993—Daniel Guggenbuhl, chief negotiator of the agreement of Romania's Association to the European Communities, on a current visit to Romania, at the invitation of the Romanian Government, had Thursday [1 April] afternoon, at the Victoria Palace, successive meetings with Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, with Minister of State Misu Negritoiu, the president of the Council for Coordination, Strategy and Economic Reform, with Napoleon Pop, chief of the Department for European Integration.

The guest expressed his satisfaction over "the happy coincidence to visit Romania at a moment of completing operations for the ratification of the interim agreement of association", appreciated by Mr.Guggenbuhl as a "historic moment" as concerns Romania's return to the European countries' family.

Romania's premier thanked for the support Romania has enjoyed and showed that the signing in Brussels of the agreement of association meant an immediate opening of dialogue and a start of the economic and financial mechanism for their rapid materialization.

Both parties appreciated that political dialogue was extremely important in strengthening economic relations. In context, Mr.Guggenbuhl wished to stress that, even if liberalization of commercial exchanges was not easy, on a long-term it will represent a more important victory, more than that of granting technical assistance.

In a statement made for the press, the guest evaluated the treaty of association as "ambitious" and as "a basis for

bettering the climate" meant to attract Western European businessmen and also important companies, and appreciated that Romania has the potential for doing this.

'Thousands' Protest Harghita Prefect Appointment

AU0104154193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] A protest rally began today at 1500 [1200 GMT] and is still going on in Liberty Square in Miercurea-Ciuc [Harghita county seat]. It was organized by the local branch of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] with respect to the recent appointment of the Harghita County prefect, our correspondent Mihai Seceleanu reports.

The rally was opened by Ferenc Szegedi, the Ciuc region president of the UDMR, who addressed the thousands of people gathered in Liberty Square by reading an announcement citing the causes that led to the choosing of this form of protest. We are not suggesting that the county prefect should be a UDMR member; however, we want him to be a Hungarian ethnic, Szegedi pointed out.

Similar protest rallies have been held today in the towns of Gheorgheni and Odorhei [Harghita County].

UDMR Considers Covasna Prefect 'Chauvinistic'

AU0104165293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] A news conference was held today at the headquarters of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. Messrs. Bela Marko, UDMR president; Csaba Takacs, executive UDMR president; Attila Verestoy and Gyorgy Tokay, parliamentary group presidents; and Deputy Gyula Vida, Senator Gabor Kozsokar, and Deputy Arpad Marton, UDMR political vice presidents; attended.

Although the news conference had two themes, discussions on the budget program and the appointment of prefects in Covasna and Harghita Counties, nobody referred to the budget issue, since the entire attention concentrated on the second subject. Asked why he used the term chauvinist in Parliament, Mr. Gabor Kozsokar said, quote: I did not use this term in reference to the government, but rather the Covasna prefect, Adrian Casunean, who is no guarantee of harmonious coexistence between the Romanian and Hungarian populations in Covasna County and whose strongly chauvinistic attitude has been known for quite a long time.

Regarding the term ethnic cleansing, Mr. Arpat Marton said, quote: The appointment of the prefects of Covasna and Harghita is considered a problem of ethnic cleansing—not in the Yugoslav sense—known to everybody, end quote.

Roman Criticizes Intelligence Service

AU0104192093 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Unattributed note: "Petre Roman Criticizes the Institution Led by Virgil Magureanu]

[Text] "The key problem the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] should have solved at the time it was set up was removing the impression that it was another or a new kind of Securitate. This was essential, and it could have been done in two ways. The SRI should not have interfered in any way in political life; this was a must. In other words, its political police capability should have disappeared for good, while its national security role remained intact. Second, a new mentality and new functioning methods should have been introduced within the SRI, along with certain democratic figures. Unfortunately, the SRI behaved in such a way as to invite accusations of political interference. Let us just recall the public stands adopted by the SRI director regarding the country's political life. Let us recall the SRI briefings to the people in responsible positions, including the prime minister, when we could again notice those same trends of interference in the country's economic life, and mentalities that were unfortunate reminders of those of the Securitate..." Mr. Petre Roman said in an interview with the BBC.

Without wanting to cast doubts on Mr. Roman's statements—it is not for us to do that—we cannot overlook certain things that Mr. Roman seems to have forgotten. Thus, in his capacity as prime minister, he approved the setting up of the UM [expansion unknown] 0215 service, he himself being one of the beneficiaries of the "political" activity of this service. Likewise, the economic information supplied by the SRI, some of which was published in the press, revealed certain worrisome details, such as doubtful contracts, the undermining of certain industrial sectors, and so forth, in which acquaintances of Mr. Roman were involved.

Ukrainian, Hungarian Ships Impounded in Galati

AU0204052193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] In connection with the act of impounding in the port of Galati two ships sailing under Ukrainian and Hungarian banners that were transporting iron ore, Customs Chief Adrian Cocos, in answering correspondent Corneliu Mihailescu's question, explained that the measure was taken because the route of the two ships, that have as their final destination Linz [Austria] and Dunaujvaros [Hungary], goes via Yugoslavia, which is under an embargo, and the iron ore was included, as of yesterday, on the list of goods that are covered by that embargo.

According to our correspondent's reports, in the first half of the day a third ship, also under a Ukrainian flag, towing seven barges, which according to documents is

transporting iron ore from Reni to Dunaujvaros and Linz, also did not receive approval to continue its voyage upstream in the territorial waters of our country.

PUNR Accuses UDMR of 'Impudence and Blackmail'

AU0204091993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2002 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/4/1993—Relative to the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) reaction to the appointment of Romanian prefects for the counties of Covasna and Harghita, Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR) Deputy Lazar Ladariu labelled it as "impudence and blackmail" and added that if UDMR persisted in urging its voters to civic insubordination it meant the UDMR had nothing in common with Romanian and European democracy and this might determine the Romanian Parliament to vote against ethnic political parties when the law of political parties is discussed. He made this statement at the PUNR's weekly newsbriefing.

PUNR Spokesman Corneliu Brahas told the press that "the immediate reception by President Ion Iliescu of the Hungarian-born American billionaire George Soros caused emotion and negative reactions in Transylvania and that, for that reason, he contacted the presidency. The presidential spokesman told him that the president had patiently listened for an hour to Mr. Soros's intended projects, without showing any reaction.

FDGR Branch Urges PUNR, UDMR Dialogue

AU0104164893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1156 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 1/4/1993—Dr. Paul J. Porr, chief of the German Democratic Forum of Romania's (FDGR) Cluj branch, made an appeal to the leaders of the Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR) and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) which was published by ADEVARUL DE CLUJ newspaper in its April 1 issue.

Stressing that the FDGR does not want to interfere in any party's policy, the appeal invites the PUNR and UDMR leaders to a "realistic dialogue sprung from the effective desire to discuss the problems existing... We are doing this approach considering that, no matter the chances for success, this dialogue must be approached because any possibility to lessen the existing inter-ethnic tensions must be used. The political, social problems and especially the economic problems of Romania are immense at the time being, so that all of us should aid in their solving. This is the best way to prove the patriotism and the loyalty to Romania—our common homeland.

Interview With Petre Roman

AU0204073493 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 25 Mar 93 p 5

["Exclusive" interview with Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front [FSN], by Aurel Perva; place and date not given: "With This Government Program, We Have the Chance of Becoming a Truly Underdeveloped Country"]

[Text] [Perva] Mr. Roman, some people accuse you of having destroyed the Romanian economy, while others recognize your great merit in destroying the old system and starting the creation of a new legislative framework....

[Roman] It was an organized destructuring process, as we carried out an institutional reform. You see, I thought this matter was over and I reached the following conclusion: At that time, after the respective provisional arrangements and the elections, the country needed a different kind of functioning concept. What kind of functioning concept? The concept that favors the free man and entrepreneur and the skilled worker. Let us not forget that what Ceausescu did in the last 10 years, during the period of dictatorship, was to ignore, oppress, and marginalize the professionals, although there were millions of them. Why? Because he could only rely on unskilled workers. Therefore, the country needed another functioning logic. What happened then? At the time when this new concept began functioning sometime in October-November 1990—it also enjoyed the support of the Council of Europe (29 January 1991)—certain forces started a public disinformation campaign and a slandering campaign against the government. But who were those forces? They were the supporters of the trend of thought reflecting the network of vested political and economic interests of the old regime. For them, the new concept meant losing both their political and economic status, which assured them an excellent and totally undeserved position in society. On the contrary, from the viewpoint of the revolution, they were actually people who had to be removed. This is a normal political clash, in the context of the radical change of political regimes generated by any revolution. Therefore, it was quite a normal process. But, as happened in the French Revolution and other places, they managed to regain their positions. This will not last long, but it did happen, nevertheless. The disinformation and slandering service, which they recovered from the old regime, aimed at the following: Let us put them in a difficult economic situation and show the people that the government does not care for the country, but for their private interests. What about the Airbus affair we were accused of? What about the so-called affair with the ships [sale of old vessels negotiated by Traian Basescu, minister of transport in Petre Roman's government]? We just learned that two to three days ago the ships were sold after all—correctly or not, it does not matter—with the approval of Prime Minister Vacaroiu and [Transport Minister] Teodoru. This is the truth. I am not accusing

Messrs. Vacaroiu or Teodoru for having signed the sale. Maybe it was the right thing to do, but I accuse them of having deliberately maintained the lie about the so-called ship affair. They knew the truth about the ships, since they signed the sale documents. But they have deliberately maintained the old lie about the whole affair. The press also had nothing to say about it. Since they were in the know, this means that they have deliberately kept silent about the lie. They should have come forward and said that the ships were sold correctly, on the basis of proper authorization. I would like to remind you that the sale of ships was not approved by the prime minister of the provisional government, but by the Ministry of Economy and Finance on the basis of a decree, regardless of who signed that decree. This is how things stood. When shouts of "bandits and thieves" were heard in the Senate, the people in the know should have come forward and said: "Hey, wait a minute; put an end to this idiocy!" However, the campaign continued for months on end. Who knows how many FSN voters stopped backing the FSN because of this disinformation campaign. Therefore, it was a deliberately propagated lie. But, as I just said, I am optimistic because I believe in democracy and in the fact that those who perpetuate a lie eventually become its prisoner. We will live and see. Anyhow, this is my viewpoint.

[Perva] Mr. Roman, is there a danger of restoration?

[Roman] I was talking about a network of vested interests and so forth. As I said, we are not dealing with a communist restoration, but rather a restoration of those who occupied important positions in the bureaucratic apparatus. Why? Because they have the network with which they can do all kinds of affairs, which however means a serious destruction of the economy. This is what I am telling you. When trade and economic transactions are not done openly—for everybody to see, that is in the sphere of free competition—this actually amounts to a violation of the market economy principles. Why? Because one can do business, but if it is done preferentially, this amounts to a serious violation of the market economy principles. The market economy is characterized by two definite features: free competition and free initiative. Anything that is done on the basis of pressure and influence peddling means a violation of the internal logic of the market economy.

[Perva] Could some of the billions dishonestly earned from politically motivated business deals also have found their way to funds earmarked for supporting the electoral campaign of certain parties or figures?

[Roman] We do not even know the size of these funds or who provided them. Anyhow, this is only part of the issue....

[Perva] Then comes the problem of declaring one's personal assets....

[Roman] We declared it. At least I did it, and those who really wanted to know how things stand could learn the truth.

[Perva] Therefore, your situation is well known.

[Roman] Yes. Of course, after a while it became obvious that the story with Airbus was a lie, the same with the story concerning the vessels. What is left? Oh, yes, the story that says I do not know how many houses were distributed to people during my tenure. A single house was allocated with the prime minister's signature, I think it was Mr. Ratiu's [vice president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party-PNTCD]. The Bucharest-Berlin affair was another lie; it was on the lips of the miners during their September incursion. Therefore, we were faced with a clear-cut campaign of disinformation and calumny. But it had its effect. How come the man who launched these rumors, Luchian Dragos, who failed to occupy a seat in Parliament, was suddenly propelled by the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] as vice president of the Court of Accounts? A man who presented a false report in the Senate. What is his stand regarding the function he must fulfill there? There you have the political connection. This is unfortunately the truth.

[Perva] The National Salvation Front has become a sort of spearhead of the current opposition. How do you explain this "militant" attitude of yours on the side of an opposition that also opposed you when you were in power?

[Roman] We had to overcome great difficulties in this respect. The old opposition has not yet drawn a line and said: Well, it was a great mistake to attack the Roman government because we actually attacked the reform and the democratic course. Of course, we also noted that the political stances within the opposition spectrum remain nevertheless distinct. As an example, let us compare the FSN and the PNTCD. It is obvious that the political positions and identities of these two parties are very different. This is the reality.

In practical terms, we often have the same political positions as the recently formed Liberal Party [PL] or the Civic Alliance Party [PAC]. However, it would be a serious mistake if we were not to preserve our political identity. I hope you noted that the FSN, in its constructive opposition endeavors, has managed, I believe, to prove that a constructive opposition can be done. I was extremely surprised to see—I consider the whole thing ridiculous—that in their attempt to counter the arguments of the parties that voted in favor of the censure motion, the powers that be resorted to another kind of disinformation. In his final speech, Mr. Vacaroiu claimed that he saw no concrete solutions coming from the opposition. Well, what about Mr. [Eugen] Dijmarescu's speech? It contained five very concrete, precise, and sure proposals dealing with various spheres such as agriculture—there were two components here: machines and irrigations—housing construction, investments, health, and state orders. Therefore, it contained five more than adequately concrete proposals. He failed to refer to any of them. Moreover, he produced another surprise, total proof of his lack of seriousness. The fate of

the economic recovery effort is decided by two basic elements: the budgetary deficit and investments. No answer has come from the government to these two problems. It means that we have returned to a political propagandistic style. They think that they can come up with more lies and nobody will be the wiser. However, the people could hear what was said in Parliament and I believe they will slowly come to realize how things really stand. As a matter of fact, this was the purpose of the censure motion. The people must realize that something else is being done, instead of governing.

[Perva] Do you believe that this also means that the government and the parties supporting it are politically responsible for this program?

[Roman] I am convinced of that. Things are very clear in this respect. We obliged these people to assume responsibility for what they are going to do and I believe it was absolutely necessary to do that. We again heard some superficial statements to the extent that the IMF experts present here appreciated the program as very good. This is absolutely not true. There are many indications in this respect. What good does it do that we have lost our last chance with the IMF? I wonder what would have happened if the Roman government had missed such a chance. I believe the newspapers would have devoured me.

[Perva] How much money was lost?

[Roman] Well, some $73 million. Other credits were also suspended, such as the loan for structural adjustment and the World Bank loan, pending further developments. Both credits were negotiated by the previous governments, by the government I led, and the Stolojan government. But then, hardly anyone mentions this anymore.

[Perva] Mr. Roman, some people claim that Romania's image is better than ever before. Is that true?

[Roman] I would be very happy if Romania's image were good, but this is not the point. Everybody should realize that what happens at home is decisive, and not what they say about us abroad. A politician should attend to what is happening in his country and do his best to help things along. The issue regarding Romania's image is part of an old panoply of worn-out, outdated, and hated arms of a war that we would like to never, ever start again. Let me give you another example. I was accused of increasing the bureaucratic apparatus. This is not true. On the contrary. When I left the government, the government apparatus consisted of 180 people. It has now reached 700. One cannot and should not do that. Therefore, here is a situation whereby anybody can easily distort anything at will. Finally, another unacceptable thing is the following phrase used so very nonchalantly by Mr. Vacaroiu: He referred to the "so-called opposition parties." All right, I can understand his nostalgia for the single party, since he spent all his life in that system. I understand that, but why denigrate the other parties? This is again part of the old panoply. What did he mean by "the so-called political parties?" Who can ascertain that a party is in the opposition or not? Who decides whether a party is a party or not? Why say that at all? Just because the most ignorant people like to hear that?

[Perva] I would like to ask you where Romania will be after this governmental program is implemented?

[Roman] I am tempted to support the idea elegantly mentioned in the censure motion—namely that we will become a truly underdeveloped country—with degraded social and social production structures and with an incredible polarization between rich and poor. Who abdicated from the values put forward in the electoral campaign? I believe it is those who are ruling today. They were talking about not bowing to the power of money, but I see that this is what is exactly happening right now. I also believe in the power of money and in the fact that the money's power should be preserved within the strict limits of free competition and initiative, with appropriate taxation so that the state can profit from the entire mechanism of society's functioning. However, I am personally in favor of keeping the power of money in check. Hence, let me ask you again: Who has abandoned one's principles from the electoral campaign?

[Perva] Do you believe that the government will resist the ever stronger social pressures of the coming spring?

[Roman] I cannot make a forecast, but, in my opinion, there are no developments that can relieve the economic and social plight. There is no other chance for relaunching the Romanian economy but to strongly stimulate efficient activities, investments, and so forth, something which is not compatible with covert, direct, or indirect subsidies of unprofitable activities. One should take bold steps here. Of course, a consensus should be reached at the level of the entire society. The fact that the 1993 budget stipulates that very important sums of money should be allocated to subsidizing unprofitable enterprises that register losses does not appear to be a token of courage. As a matter of fact, this is what state orders lead to, namely subsidizing an unsalable production. Does anybody stand to profit from such stockpiles? Certainly not the society. As one of our economists, Professor Blaga, said, this introduction of state orders has been the main economic component of perestroyka, which led to disaster. It appears that we want to take over this experience and even apply it.

[Perva] If the censure motion had been passed, what do you think would have happened?

[Roman] It is hard to speculate on that. First of all, we know that the acceptance of the censure motion would not have led to instability in the country. I would like to reiterate this point most emphatically because there was a lot of speculation about it. This is not true. The acceptance of the censure motion would have meant, as I have said, the creation of another parliamentary majority that I would call incontestable. From what viewpoint? From the viewpoint of starting the real work.

This is the only chance to really start working. Consequently, there was nothing out of the ordinary to it.

[Perva] After the elections, the opposition was accused of cowardice for not having agreed to participate in a government alongside the FDSN.

[Roman] The truth is the following, and we should be quite honest about it all. The truth is that certain opposition parties hesitated. The PNTCD definitely hesitated. The FSN did not. We said from the beginning that we were ready to do our bit. However, when we sat down at the negotiating table, we clearly said that the new government must not be a sacrificial one, but rather a government for solving the crisis. Therefore, we did not want a government to draw all the abuse, while we stood aside slinging mud at it at will for the sake of the cheers of the lookers on. No! This government should be a government that implements reform, a government to solve the crisis. Therefore, it should have had a very serious political base, by that I do not mean a political base for a certain political power, but a base for coming out of the crisis and relaunching the entire country. It was not possible to achieve that. It would have meant that the government need not be at the mercy of other political institutions that can play with it as they wish, such as the Higher Court of Justice, the Prosecutor's Officer, the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service], and others that I do not care to mention here.

Then, it was obvious that the Parliament should also have agreed upon a formula whereby the political forces participating in the government would have been equally represented in the Parliament's leadership bodies. No solution could be reached on this matter. I must confess that our political position was different from that of other parties. Afterward, we joined forces, as we did before the censure motion, as well. It is true that we were in favor of the censure motion, but the PNTCD thought that we should wait until May because lots of things can happen before then... I said, both at a news conference and in various other discussions, that this would be immoral. I said that the motion should not be submitted in May, since this would have meant succumbing to the idea of waiting. I know that we enjoyed the support of the PL in this respect. They said that we can only support the measures to cut subsidies, so why wait until May? It would have meant getting stuck in that kind of position. How can we speculate with measures that we would have taken ourselves? The difference is that we would have taken these measures in other circumstances and as part of a program with other chances and prospects.

[Perva] After the elections, were you made a serious offer to participate in the government?

[Roman] I did not conduct the negotiations. All negotiations were conducted by [Eugen] Dijmarescu, [Adrian] Severin, [Victor] Babiuc, and [Radu] Berceanu.

[Perva] What about the president's recent round of consultations with the parties?

[Roman] In our discussions with President Iliescu, we told him exactly what we publicly stated afterward. We also told him how we view the situation, why I cannot agree to it, and the rest of the arguments.

[Perva] Is there a moderate wing in the FDSN?

[Roman] The moderates that exist cannot and do not form a wing. On the contrary, I have another picture, which I consider quite dangerous, of an FDSN leadership consisting of people that we call politicians, but who are actually old servants of the Ceausescu regime.

[Perva] How do you view the rejection of the motion—as a defeat or a success?

[Roman] From the viewpoint of the opposition, if we look at the weapons used by those in power, then it is a defeat achieved with the ugliest and most unacceptable arms for the kind of society we all want to build today. It was simply evil. However, for the opposition it was also a milestone. From now on, the censure motion will remain our reference point. We can always tell them what they said on that occasion, the kind of promises they made, and so forth, when we also made our point known. We even offered them solutions, which they cannot deny and lie about them, since they were made during an event known by the whole country, namely the censure motion.

[Perva] Mr. Petre Roman, I am going to put to you another question, this time in your capacity as president of the Defense Commission of the Chamber of Deputies. When will the long-awaited SRI report be made?

[Roman] The SRI report will not be presented in the Defense Commission of the Chamber of Deputies. We demanded that, since there is no joint commission of the two chambers, although more than a year—actually it is a year and a month—has passed since the adoption of the law on the SRI and it was only natural for us to try to start things moving in this direction. A draft resolution was worked out for setting up that joint commission. The two defense commissions will examine that draft resolution to establish an effective parliamentary control over the SRI activity. However, it is hard for me to say when all this is going to happen, as the entire affair has dragged on for so long that I have the impression that things are being deliberately delayed. We will have to do something about this perpetual postponement and deliberate slow pace, if we want to reach concrete results. This is what I think we should concentrate on in the commission.

[Perva] A year ago you suspected that a political police existed. Do you still nurture such suspicions? Is there still a political police in Romania?

[Roman] You see, had there been an effective parliamentary control in this sphere, there would have been no reason to suspect that a political police existed. However, because of this deliberate delay and postponement, the suspicion has strengthened. It exists. Maybe a political police does not exist, but then why was everything

dragged on like that and why were so many obstacles raised here and there? Why then were such undemocratic answers given like the one by the [SRI] spokesman: We are not accountable to the current commissions, unless we want to be. What does that mean? Are they a state within a state? The old SRI has gone through an entire legislature period without attestation. All this increases the suspicion. Those who contribute to this situation lose sight of the fact that the real and necessary character of this institution gets diminished like that.

[Perva] You had privileged relations with the French Socialist Government. How do you assess your relations with the parties that victoriously emerged in the recent elections in France?

[Roman] I believe that our relations with the French right can be good. I know several right wing politicians in France, with whom I met on several occasions. I am not worried in this respect. However, I think it is necessary for us to seriously examine the defeat of the Socialists in France and the foreseeable diminution of the Socialists' share in Spain. After all, we are related with them from a programmatic, ideological, and political-ideological viewpoint. The whole world is moving in one direction. One can no longer imagine that part of it is moving in one direction, while another part—of course, we must wait and see what happens in Moscow—in another direction. In general, the dominant desire is for the democratic path. Therefore, something must have disappointed the socialist voters. Maybe a feeling that they were abandoned and that there was too much of a gap between promises and actual deeds. I liked an expression used by a great French figure, who said: The Socialist Party bowed before the power of money. It would have been hard to imagine that the right wing voters will believe more in the Socialist Party than in the right wing parties when it comes to the power of money. This was also my feeling, which I expressed in an interview I gave in France, on 25 January, when I said that the Socialist Party has isolated itself in a circle of politicians whose relationship with the voters and the people was often nonexistent or very weak. They no longer heeded those who had brought them to power, including the fact that they promised them greater social justice, not by hampering the freedom and liberalization of the economy, but by supporting it and ensuring a redistribution that would also come to the aid of the less favored strata. Well, they failed to do that.

[Perva] One last question, please. How do you assess our current foreign policy?

[Roman] Let us say that the foreign policy positions of the current rulers are in agreement with our stands. However, I consider that the efficiency of this policy is quite reduced, compared to the achievements of our foreign policy in other conditions. I am referring to the World War II period, the period of the 1920's until the elimination of the then Foreign Minister Titulescu, and the 1964-1970 period, to be absolutely correct. Therefore, I cannot declare myself satisfied with our foreign policy now. The assertion of Romania's positions is often done too late and only half-heartedly, with vacillation and hesitations.

[Perva] Thank you.

Serbian Assembly To Reject Vance-Owen Plan

AU0204071593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Text] Deputies of the peoples' assembly of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] will reject the Vance-Owen plan, which divides former Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 provinces. This was stated after the session of the club of deputies of the assembly in Bileca last night for SRNA news agency by club's leader Dr. Vojislav Maksimovic.

Karadzic Calls No-Fly Resolution 'Catastrophic Error'

AU0104154993 Paris AFP in English 1531 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, April 1 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Thursday [1 April] condemned a U.N. vote authorizing force against violators of the no-fly zone over Bosnia as "a catastrophic error" and warned that it could harden Serbian opposition to an international peace plan.

Speaking a day before a Bosnian Serb assembly meets to debate the plan, Karadzic said the U.N. Security Council vote could lead to an escalation of the bloody conflict.

"I think the United Nations has made a catastrophic error that represents an introduction towards the escalation of the war and, and in case a third Serbian war is declared in these regions, the resolution will be the real beginning of this conflict," Karadzic told the Bosnian Serbs' SRNA news agency. [passage omitted]

Analysts said the consequences could include a Serbian pullout from the New York talks and increased obstruction of U.N. protection force missions in Serbian-held parts of Bosnia. [passage omitted]

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was urgently reviewing Thursday its evacuation operation in the besieged eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica after up to seven people died Wednesday during a stampede to board a convoy, a UNHCR spokesman said.

The deaths and the evacuation led Moslems in Tuzla to accuse the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) of cooperating in "ethnic cleansing," a charge rejected Thursday by the U.N. forces.

"We view this as humanitarian assistance in every respect, and we are certain to challenge anybody who says this is ethnic cleansing," UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer said. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Warns UN May Cause 'Third World War'

AU0104150293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the self-proclaimed Serbian republic, by Dragan Mihovic in Bileca on 1 April—recorded]

[Text] The delegations and officials of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] are arriving in Bileca. President Radovan Karadzic has arrived, as has assembly chairman Krajisnik, vice president Koljevic, and other top officials. The arrival of Vitaly Churkin, special envoy of Russian President Yeltsin, has been announced. Many consultations and meetings between deputies' clubs are expected to take place this evening. The agenda of the assembly is still not known, but one subject will doubtless be the analysis of the recently held talks in New York.

Radovan Karadzic replied to several reporters' questions upon arriving in Bileca.

[Karadzic] The representatives of the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina face a very responsible task as we have to confront all the threats aimed against us on the international scene, and all that threatens us if we accept this plan, that is, we have to confront threats if we do not accept it and if we do. I cannot predict what the decision might be, but I expect that no Serbian representative will accept the maps as they are. I cannot begin to guess what attitude the assembly will take toward the entire conference, and the mediation of the EC and the United Nations, who are hostile toward the Serbian people, particularly after adopting the resolution on the enforcement of the no-fly zone. I believe that the Serbs have plenty of reasons to deny the right of mediation to anyone who has been doing this thus far, since only those who are impartial have the right to mediate, only those who are equally distanced from all the sides in the conflict.

[Mihovic] How would you comment on the latest decision of the United Nations?

[Karadzic] The resolution is completely unnecessary since the previous resolution on the no-fly zone has not been violated, particularly not by the Serbian side. They will have nothing to shoot at in the air. However, the resolution itself represents an act of ill will toward the Serbian people, since it is obviously aimed against the Serbian people even though we have not been violating the resolution. This measure can also dangerously escalate the conflict and it gives the right to members of the United Nations to fly over the region, perhaps even unauthorized, and shoot at what targets they choose. I think that the United Nations has made a catastrophic mistake, and that this mistake could be a prelude to the further escalation of the war. If there is a Third World War in this region, it will have been sparked off by this resolution.

Red Cross Says Mladic Ban Jeopardizes Aid to Serbs

AU0104182093 Paris AFP in English 1751 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Geneva, April 1 (AFP)—[passage omitted] In Belgrade, Red Cross officials warned Thursday [1 April] that they would halt their relief operations in Serbian-held regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina if the Serbs continued to hamper aid to Moslem enclaves.

Michel Dufour, head of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegation here, said that if Mladic's forces continued to block efforts to help Moslem civilians and prisoners of war, ICRC relief to some 90,000 people living in Serb-controlled zones would be jeopardized. [passage omitted]

UNHCR To 'Confront' Serbs

AU0104165993 Paris AFP in English 1657 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Geneva, April 1 (AFP)—The commander of the Bosnian Serb army warned Thursday [1 April] that no more relief supplies would be allowed into Srebrenica, but U.N. officials here said a food convoy would still be sent to the besieged eastern Bosnian town on Friday.

A spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said the organization would confront Serbian forces by sending an aid convoy despite a warning by Serbian General Radko Mladic that only empty U.N. trucks would be allowed in to Srebrenica to evacuate the town's Moslem population.

Serb Army Issues Statement on Srebrenica Evacuation

LD0204085093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2251 GMT 1 Apr 93

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The general staff of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] issued a statement this evening saying it had given its approval for the passage of a convoy of nine vehicles due to bring humanitarian aid to and evacuate civilians from Srebrenica on 2 April. The only condition for passage is that all vehicles must travel together and that civilians from Srebrenica must be evacuated directly to Tuzla, without a stopover in Bratunac.

The following is a statement distributed to TANJUG this evening:

"The Zvornik garrison command has informed the General Staff of the army of the Serb republic about a joint decision of the UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] and the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command to send a convoy of nine freight vehicles, four loaded with humanitarian aid and five empty trucks, for the evacuation of civilians from Srebrenica on 2 April 1993. The convoy should be escorted by a group of UN military observers and liaison officers.

The plan of action envisages that all nine trucks should arrive in Bratunac first and then four trucks should proceed to Srebrenica, unload their humanitarian aid, and, on their way back, evacuate civilians from Srebrenica to Bratunac, while the five empty trucks wait in Bratunac. The four trucks can then unload civilians from Srebrenica and transfer them to the empty trucks in Bratunac. Following this, the four trucks can go back to Srebrenica to evacuate more civilians from Srebrenica, while the five trucks with the previously evacuated Muslim civilians from Srebrenica wait in Bratunac for the other four trucks to return, so that all nine vehicles can return to Tuzla together.

The general staff of the army of the Serb republic notes that this operation has not been planned with or announced to the general staff, which is in breach of the regular procedure. At the same time, the staff assesses that this unnecessary maneuver of trucks, especially the planned wait of Muslim civilians in Serb territory in Bratunac, is aimed at provoking an incident between Serb and Muslim people, following which—as usual—Serbs would be blamed for the incident.

Hence, Major General Manojlo Milanovic, head of the general staff of the army of the Serb republic, has decided to allow the passage of the humanitarian convoy for Srebrenica under the condition that all nine vehicles travel together and that they evacuate civilians from Srebrenica without stopping over at Bratunac. Observers and liaison officers are not allowed to go to Srebrenica and Bratunac because they are not essential to the operation," the statement concludes.

Serbs Say Tuzla-Srebrenica Airlift Will Not Resume

LD0104171993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1511 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Tex] Zvornik, April 1 (TANJUG)—The United Nations airlift between Tuzla and Srebrenica will not resume on Thursday [1 April] because it has not even been announced yet, an officer of the Bosnian Serb army has said.

Flights between the two Moslem enclaves in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina were announced first for Tuesday and then for Wednesday but the aircraft did not appear for unknown reasons, commander of the Zvornik garrison of the Bosnian Serb army Major Dragan Petkovic said.

Serb Deputies Hear Report on Belgrade Talks

AU0204090993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Report by Jelena Dabarcic from Bileca]

[Text] The session of the assembly of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] did not start at 0900 this morning, as originally announced. This postponement occurred because the club of deputies had met, most probably to be briefed about the talks the Serbian republic's political leadership held in Belgrade last night,

where Yeltsin's special envoy Churkin tried to persuade the Serbian side to accept the Vance-Owen peace plan via the Serbian and Yugoslav leaderships.

No other details of these talks are known. However, judging by the deputies' opinions, the maps offered by the two cochairmen are unacceptable to the Serbian people. It is hard to say at this point to what degree yesterday's talks of the delegation of the Serbian republic, headed by president Dr. Radovan Karadzic, will influence the work of the assembly. Let us also add that Mr. Churkin, whose arrival in Bileca was announced for this morning, still has not arrived.

At the end let me say that the Herzegovina front was not peaceful last night. The forces of the Croatian Defense Council in Mostar-Nevesinje and Capljina-Stolac area on several occasions violated the cease-fire. They opened fire from heavy infantry arms at the positions held by the Serbian troops. However, there were no consequences for the Serbian side from these activities.

Churkin Invites Bosnian Serb Delegation to Belgrade

AU0104203593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Report by Jelena Dabarcic from Bileca]

[Text] The club of deputies of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] held a session this evening. We have learned that there was no mention of the talks held in New York as the representatives of the negotiating team did not turn up to the club. This afternoon they had departed for Belgrade at the invitation of Yeltsin's special envoy Churkin, who will try to persuade the Serbian side to accept the Vance-Owen plan through the Belgrade leadership.

However, according to the statement by Dr. Aleksa Buha, [foreign minister of the Serbian republic], the maps offered are not acceptable for the Serbian people and they cannot be accepted at tomorrow's session of the republican parliament, regardless of the fact that new sanctions, and even military intervention, are being threatened.

There are also no indications that any corrections of the maps offered by the two cochairmen could take place. This is what could be concluded from talking to the deputies this evening. However, the main topic to be discussed by the republican parliament tomorrow is the report on the work of the negotiating team in New York. It is hard to anticipate whether the talks in Belgrade this evening will influence the work of the assembly.

Serbian Army Refutes UN Claims on Helicopter Attack

LD0204102993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2235 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The general staff of the army of the Serb republic in Bosnia has, following an investigation, rejected accusations that it attacked UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] helicopters on 24 March. It has established that there are no grounds to hold Colonel Dragutin Ilic responsible for this. This has been disclosed in a statement distributed to TANJUG. The following is the full statement:

"Regarding an alleged attack on UNPROFOR helicopters in Srebrenica on 24 March 1993, General Philippe Morillon, the commander of the UNPROFOR forces for Bosnia-Herzegovina, sent a protest note to the general staff of the army of the Serb republic with a demand that Col. Dragutin Ilic be arrested and put on trial for that incident.

"Despite the fact that the army of the Serb republic did not stage any combat operations in the area at that time, as we have already informed the public, the general staff of the army of the republic of Serbia carried out an investigation in connection with the aforementioned protest note. The investigation focused on Col. Ilic's possible responsibility.

"Following this detailed and complex investigation, it has been irrefutably proven that the attack on the UNPROFOR helicopters cannot under any circumstances be ascribed to the army of the Serb republic. Thereby, there are no grounds for raising the issue of Col. Ilic's responsibility.

"The investigation has shown that artillery weapons would have to be placed in better positions than the ones held by the army of the Serb republic in order to hit UNPROFOR helicopters. The Muslim forces had precisely such good positions. Likewise, it has been established that the helicopters in question opened fire on soldiers of the army of the republic of Serbia when flying over the Caus hill, and that UNPROFOR forces threw explosives within a 200-meter radius of Srebrenica heliport.

"It is obvious that Gen. Morillon has made a superficial, unsubstantiated, and tendentious assessment aimed at compromising the Serbian people and their army," the statement concludes.

Serbs Charge Croats, Muslims With War Crimes

LD0104171693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—Criminal charges have been filed with the supreme military court of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] against 52 war criminals of Croatian and Muslim nationality, Lietenant Colonel Novak Todorovic, president of the court, told the SRNA news agency today.

They have committed crimes during the war against Serb civilians and POWs in Muslim and Croat camps in Sarajevo, Konjic, Mostar, and Tuzla.

Noting that for all the criminal charges submitted there exists evidence and witnesses, and in the case of firing squads photographic evidence, Lt. Col. Todorovic

stressed that the Supreme Military Court of the Serb republic is fully observing the principles of international law of war.

Among those against whom charges have been brought, SRNA reports, is Samir Krusko of Sarajevo who last year imprisoned eight captured members of the crew of a damaged personnel carrier of the former JNA, tortured, and killed them. Charges have also been brought against Enes Durak, also of Sarajevo, who with his 30 militiamen attacked a mini-van carrying Serb women and children on the Pale-Ilijas road, killing two of the passengers and wounding six.

Also on the list of war criminals are Marko Simic-Nikolic of Tuzla, who worked as a prison doctor in Stupari; Brana Matic, warden of the Croatian prison in Ljuboski; Nusret Beslija of Gacko, who killed 31 Serb civilians; Zvonko Zoka from the village of Podorasac near Konjic, who cut off and shot at the head of captured Serb soldier Sretko Kuljanin... [punctuation as received]

Criminal charges have also been brought against Besim Spahic, Jusuf and Alija Prazina, Ismet Bajramovic, and Edin Bahtic.

Bosnian Leaders Comment on Signing of Peace Plan

AU3103131993

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina at 1000 GMT on 31 March carries a live relay of a news conference held by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency; Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic; Stjepan Siber, deputy chief of staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; and Muhamed Filipovic, member of Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation at the New York talks. The news conference deals with the recent round of peace talks in New York, where the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation signed the Vance-Owen peace plan. It is anchored by Presidency public relations adviser Kemal Muftic.

At the beginning of the news conference, Foreign Minister Silajdzic reads a report about the course of the peace conference and explains the provisions of the peace documents signed. His explanation is followed by reporters' questions, which are translated consecutively into Serbo-Croatian and English.

A correspondent of the Spanish paper ABC asks what concrete guarantees was the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation given for the implementation of Vance-Owen plan.

In the case that "the third side, and it is know what side I am referring to" signs the plan, Izetbegovic replies, "we were given assurances that the United States will encourage the international community to implement the plan." As he continues, "the United States itself will take part in this action, together with the United Nations, the EC, and Russia." "Therefore," he says, "it is envisaged that concrete military forces will secure the implementation of this plan." "If the third side declines to sign the paper, or temporizes with the signing of the agreement," Izetbegovic continues, "we were told that three measures would ensue," namely, further sanctions against Serbia and its total isolation, the immediate passing of the no-fly zone by the UN Security Council, and the possible lifting of the arms embargo for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Foreign Minister Silajdzic adds on this subject that "there were no written guarantees." "However," Silajdzic says, "we have a statement by U.S. Secretary of State Christopher that America has committed itself to participate in the implementation of the peace agreement." Silajdzic adds that this "was confirmed in the White House." Silajdzic concludes that "we received assurances at the highest levels whose seriousness and authority we cannot doubt."

A REUTER correspondent asks Izetbegovic what time period is left for the signing of the peace plan by the "third side?" He also asks Silajdzic to state the strategy of Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign policy.

Izetbegovic reiterates that "one of the conditions we stated prior to the signing of the document" was that "the third side" sign the document within "a reasonable period of time" for our signature to be valid. As Izetbegovic says, the deadline was "deliberately" not fixed, but adds that international law defines "very precisely" what a reasonable period of time is. In answer to the second question Silajdzic states that "our strategy is peace."

A WASHINGTON POST correspondent asks Izetbegovic whether and to what degree the minimum demands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation were fulfilled?

Izetbegovic replies briefly that they were fulfilled, adding that Silajdzic's statement describes this in more detail. "The majority of our demands were fulfilled there," he says, adding that minimum demands were more guidelines for the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation than "cemented preconditions."

A correspondent whose name is indistinct, asks Izetbegovic to expound on "control of the borders by the central government," and inquires whether there were any changes in the maps?

Izetbegovic says that "control of state borders was a subject of long talks and one of the central topics in the second round of the New York talks." He goes on to say that "the solution envisages that initially, that is to say in the interim period, the borders will be controlled by the

UN Protection Force." "However, the final solution will be sought in the context of drafting the new constitution." Speaking of the maps, Izetbegovic says, that there were "changes" in comparison with the "initial version." As he says, "not big, but nevertheless significant corrections occurred in three places." He specifies changes in province No. 1, that is, Bihac province, to which Prijedor and Kozarac were adjoined, as well as "great portion of Bosanski Novi Commune with the town itself and most of Sanski Most Commune with the town of Sanski Most itself." Izetbegovic says that "the second important change" is the adjoining of "the central part of Brcko Commune and town of Brcko" to Tuzla province. As he says, the inclusion of the "east part of (?Teslic Commune) in Tuzla province represents the third change.

A correspondent whose name is indistinct asks Izetbegovic why "the state delegation agreed to the dissolution of the central army and the police?"

In his comprehensive reply to this question, Izetbegovic states that "we have assessed that the war, in which the Bosnian Army would defeat the chetniks, would last rather a long time and its outcome would be very uncertain." As he says, the situation was also viewed "in the context of the Balkans and in the context of the international situation." "Bosnia-Herzegovina could potentially spark off a conflict on a wider scale, in the Balkans and internationally," Izetbegovic says. He says that going for the war option would mean entering into great uncertainly, accompanied "by enormous suffering on the part of the people for an indefinite period of time." He also adds that "to pursue the war we would have to have absolutely certain sources of arms." "With the arms that we currently have at our disposal we are not sure that we could achieve military victory," Izetbegovic goes on, "which all implies that we should not pursue the military option if we could at all avoid it." "Of course, the military option always remains," Izetbegovic says, "and it is very likely that it will be left to us if the other side does not sign the agreement." "However," he says "we now have the chance of obtaining arms, as there is the possibility of lifting the arms embargo." "In such a situation," Izetbegovic says, "we agreed to disarm ourselves on condition that the other side disarms itself." "It would be good if the Bosnian state had its own army like the vast majority of countries worldwide," Izetbegovic says, "but bearing in mind the actual situation, you will see that this is not possible in the foreseeable future." "As regards the police," Izetbegovic says, "the majority of countries have a similar solution to the one offered here." "As a rule, the police come under the jurisdiction of local or provincial authorities," Izetbegovic says, "therefore, we do not think that we made a mistake in this respect." "We analyzed this issue carefully and came to a conclusion that we should embrace it," Izetbegovic says. "This does not question the existence of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina," he concludes.

A correspondent from Bosnia-Herzegovina Television notes that "the New York agreement says very little or nothing of the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament," and asks whether "parliamentary life in our state has definitely been extinguished?"

"God forbid!" Izetbegovic says in reply. "As the champions of democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we could not possibly have accepted that parliamentary life in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be extinguished." Izetbegovic believes that there is "a misunderstanding regarding the functioning of parliament." He says that "the priority of the interim government is to organize free elections under the supervision of the international community so as to restore parliament." Izetbegovic says that in the future there will be a bicameral state parliament as well as provincial parliaments in Bosnia-Herzegovina. "In the interim period, which would last for approximately a year and a half," the parliament might meet, but currently there are no conditions for this," Izetbegovic says.

Foreign Minister on Flight Ban, Talks With Clinton

LD0204000793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] This evening Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic was the guest of the "Documents" program of Bosnia-Herzegovina Television. From his extensive interview we have selected his replies to the questions on how he sees the application of the UN resolution on the ban on flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina, on his meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, and on the possibilities of coexistence in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin recording] [Silajdzic] The resolution was drafted over several months. It has been adopted. I believe that a psychological barrier has been broken down with regard to intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which in my view is overdue considering the extent and brutality of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. The resolution envisages the downing of planes carrying out military flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina. There will be flights, but these will be with permission and mainly with humanitarian aims.

The working talks that took place in the office of Vice President Al Gore were also attended by Secretary of State Christopher. President Clinton joined us later and took us to his office, and German Chancellor Kohl was waiting for us in that office. Of course, the subject of the talks was Bosnia, the situation in Bosnia, and they were very cordial, and for that level, very emotional.

[Correspondent] Was it unexpected for the president of the Presidency [Alija Izetbegovic] and for you, or were you perhaps expecting that there would be such a meeting?

[Silajdzic] We knew that there would be a meeting of that kind, but the gesture of the U.S. President coming to accompany us to his office was fairly unusual. Even people working there were surprised. He wanted to show what he

felt, and he said that it was an honor for him to meet us—he repeated that twice—that it was an honor to meet us. As I said, the whole meeting was emotional. I am not used to hearing at an official meeting so many warm words of emotion; for me that was rather surprising.

No one is particularly happy with this plan. It is clear that the interests of all have been taken into account, and that is essential. Muslims, Serbs, and Croats, as we said in our statement recently, and other people who live in Bosnia-Herzegovina—Albanians, Jews, Romanies, and others—will continue to live here. That is a fact of reality, a political reality from which we must proceed. They will be here and will live here, and that is why the interests of all have to be taken into account. I believe that this plan takes into account the interests of all, and that this plan should be signed. Of course, whether the aggressor side will accept it or not, whether they will see the plan in this way remains to be seen, but I think that this is the only way to end the suffering of the civilian population as soon as possible, and I think that the international community will exert pressure, and it is doing so, above all on the Belgrade regime, which is the initiator of this tragedy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to end it. [end recording]

Testimonies of Serbian Rape Victims

93BA0749B Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by Vasko Radusinovic]

[Text] *The next several issues of POBJEDA, with the help of colleagues from the weekly ODGOVOR, will bring authentic stories of Serbian women who have had the worst kind of experiences, the kind that border on insanity. The perpetrators of these atrocities were neighbors, schoolmates, and friends....*

Lately, the world community has shown considerable concern over the raping of women and young girls in the former Yugoslavia. Naturally, in trying to prove such shameful acts, a lot of information has been used that has nothing to do with the truth. A number of 50,000 raped Muslim women has been mentioned. Unbelievable. International peacekeeper documents have left very little space for raped Serbian women since the Muslim women are the ones presented as the victims of the war and of the "frenzied Chetniks." It is not so. The truth about this has been kept secret, consciously or not, for a long time, but here are confessions of those who were forced to give up their bodies to brutes, to use the mildest term.

G.T., a 28-year-old housewife from the Serbian village of Blagaj, near Kupres, spent more than five months in brothels in Livno and at "Ciglana," a part of Sarajevo. She has been pregnant for five months and wants to have an abortion. She is the mother of two girls, 11 and 7. Fortunately, both are staying with her brother in Belgrade. She planned to join them there, but without her husband because he was among the first in their village to join the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. One early morning, at the beginning of April, a schoolmate from Kupres, Mensur Zujkic, showed up at her doorstep accompanied by a group of armed men. Mensur Zujkic grabbed her like a wild animal, pulled her out of the house, and without a word of explanation took her to Livno. From that morning on, her life became hell.

Luxury in Exchange for Evil

In a large, luxurious house in Livno, G.T. every morning had to serve her schoolmate with many pleasures, paying thus a high price for her happy youth. There were other women there also, older and younger, between 18 and 40 years old. All of them were Serbian, except one.

When they brought me there, says G.T., I immediately realized, to my horror and despair, that the other women had been sexually abused.

G.T. belonged to Mensur Zujkic only. When he, at the end of June, left Livno and went to Sarajevo, he took her along and set her up in a brothel in the area called "Ciglana." There, too, she belonged only to him so he could do whatever he wanted to do with her.

"Ciglana" is a horrible place where very young girls were brought. G.T. said, "They were forced to have seven to eight Muslims take a turn with them." She used to think of her daughter because some of the girls were between 10 and 12 years old. "Ciglana" had excellent security, and no one really dared to scream.

The days that G.T. spent in "Ciglana," where most of Alija's forces for the defense of Sarajevo were stationed, seemed to her endless. Drunk Croatian and Muslim fighters would come and go and often yelled at them—"We are making bastards with Serbian women." Today, G.T. is not the same. She says she is not normal anymore. Her only wish is that her children are healthy, and live a normal life regardless of what is happening to her.

"The First Night, 12 Came"

(From the testimony of G.T., who spent more than five months in brothels for Alija's fighters.)

"I was born in 1972 in Sarajevo, where I lived until the war broke out. When the war started, in April, and when the barricades went up, I was taken to prison. Until then I was working at a hair salon and taking classes in the evening. On my way home from work, four armed members of the 'green berets' pushed me into a car, and with my eyes blindfolded, they took me to the basement of a building. I do not know the location of the building. I was put with a 16- year-old girl, named J., in a small, partitioned part of the hallway with no windows and no natural ventilation.

"The first night, 12 men came dressed in black uniforms. First, they indulged themselves with the 16-year-old girl, and then it was my turn. I did not know any of them. I only heard that one of them was addressed as 'Alibaba.' He tore my clothes off, and since I was a virgin, he was very rough with me. He slapped me in the face and

forced me to have oral and sexual intercourse. Then, two more came who held me to the floor while Ismet Bajramovic-Celo, whose name I learned later, was the main assaulter. He was the leader of the group. His group still operates in Sarajevo. He was the first, then others would take turns, and this was repeated over and over again during the entire night."

Measures To Oppose Military Intervention

93BA0788B Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 93 p 7

[Article by M. Milutinovic: "Strength Lies in Concord and Good Sense"]

[Text] In a possible military intervention on the territory of the former Bosnia and Herzegovina, NATO would attempt with a coalition of West European, Croatian, and Muslim forces to break the resistance of the army of the Serbian republic and thereby force on the Serbian people colonial status and loss of its ethnic and cultural identity.

Aware of that situation, the Serbian people in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina, organized in the Serbian republic, but also in other regions, must take a number of steps to protect itself, to organize for defense, and to be ready to enter into armed combat with those forces.

Heed Instructions

It is possible to offset the conditions of a general blockade of the telecommunications and information system that would be undertaken by jamming forces at the beginning of the military intervention by following the appropriate instructions of military and civilian authorities, by listening to Krajina radio stations, which will very quickly withdraw to appropriate locations and will inform the local population in brief news reports concerning the most important events and necessary action. It could be that certain wave bands, if they are detected, will soon be silenced by jamming, but new radio frequencies should be sought. All entities of the Serbian republic must fight resolutely against all forms of propaganda and psychological action by providing timely information to fighting men and the public, which, combined with reason and good sense, will prevent any panic.

Antiair combat over the Serbian republic would be waged by the air force, along with antiair defense of the territory and the air defense arms of all units of the army of the Serbian republic. At the same time, all armed citizens would take part in the fight against enemy aircraft and helicopters, which, in accordance with the deployment of forces, would constitute a true umbrella.

In case of bombardment from the air and with missile systems from aircraft carriers, the public should take cover (shelters, basements, and other structures) and carry out the instructions of civil defense, this being their principal task. Civil defense is organized so that along with other institutions it can meet basic needs and care for the injured and wounded. And under those conditions the basic thing is still to preserve a cool head, to work according to plan, without haste and panic, heeding instructions of specialized authorities.

Appropriate units that would take part in antilanding defense have already been trained over sizable areas previously designated as landing sites. It is well-known that there would be such landings in several directions, so that all those who possess firearms must think about quickly making them available to the nearest commands and units.

Units of the military police, civilian police, and local guards will see to the thorough checking of persons and vehicles and will prevent all attempts to form paramilitary units of Muslim and Croatian extremists, at the same time preventing infiltration from Croatia, Cazin Krajina, and central Bosnia of groups already formed. Certainly the nearest units of the army of the Serbian republic will also commit themselves to this task, primarily in breaking up any sizable commando-terrorist groups, which could be transported to particular areas by airplane, glider, or helicopter.

The Response Has Been Prepared

Units of the army of the Serbian republic which are located on the borders and in direct contact with Croatian and Muslim forces have already set up obstacles to obstruct routes and have adapted the system of unit command to the specific conditions of strong jamming. The order of battle of units has been dispersed, and direct contact with the enemy confined to directions which guarantee adequate protection and prevent any surprises. Most of the suitable positions for offering resistance to an aggressor were taken earlier by our units, and members of various military units on leave must take up their place in the order of battle of their unit as soon as possible or report to the command of the nearest unit, if transportation is not possible.

In view of the character of the terrain and the determination of the fighting men of the army of the Serbian republic, regardless of superiority in the air and artillery and missile support, we can defend all positions very effectively and oppose the attacks of ground forces, especially because NATO would most likely put in the first lines of combat the Croatian and Muslim forces, with whose courage we are quite familiar. In this terrain and under these meteorological conditions, it would be pointless to plan the use of NATO special forces and strong mechanized armor units, and they would not yield the anticipated results.

Mindful of the level of organization and numerousness of light brigades over the entire territory, war on the

territory of the Serbian republic would assume all the features of guerrilla war, in which any aggressor would not have much chance. As time passed, the entire organization of life and work in the republic, in the regions, in opstinas, and in villages would assume the features of total warfare. We have to believe in the traditions of our ancestors that even considerably more numerous forces have been unable to stay in these regions, and today, if we view the entire situation, a possible aggressor would have almost no chance of general success, especially because help from our brothers in Yugoslavia and the Orthodox world would also be forthcoming.

Never in its history has the Serbian people been more in agreement, prepared, and armed than now, and that is our strength, which, along with the necessary good sense, planned activity, and antipropaganda action, and other forms, will preserve honor and dignity and survival in these regions.

Serbian Republic Wartime Fruit Production

93BA0788A Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 93 p 9

[Article by G. Serbula: "Preparations for This Year's Production"]

[Text] Bosanska Gradiska, 25 Jan—At Plantaze, during these winter days, in addition to selling last year's fruit harvest, preparations are also being made for this year's production cycle. The harvest will come from about 700 hectares of apple and pear orchards located in Jablanica, Trebovlje, Jelici, Jurkovica, Rijecani, and Ivanjska. The condition of these orchards is rather good for the present, the experts say.

However, this year there will be great difficulties in pruning the fruit trees, which has begun. In the spring, it will not be possible to use seasonal pruners, who for years have come to the Kozara region from Serbia. More than 130 permanent workers in units of the Army of the Serbian Republic are also missing. We will do everything to get this job done even under these difficult conditions, we were told by Mladenko Maric, acting director, adding that certain quantities of chemicals, which are extremely expensive, hard to get, because they are imported, have been obtained for the spring spraying of Plantaze fruit. For the present, there is no problem with petroleum, because more than 40 percent of the annual quantities needed have already been furnished. Much the same is true of the chemical fertilizer used to feed the trees.

This spring and fall the Gradiska fruitgrowers will not only perform current tasks in fruit production, but will also supply customers 12,000 apple, pear, and plum trees for planting.

Plantaze ended the last business year, in which there were major production problems, in the black. They produced 1,100 cars of fruit, which they sell in their own sales outlets and in commercial organizations in both Serbian republics as well as in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Considerable quantities were also sold to fruit processors: Prijedorcanka, Vitaminka, and Bosanka.

Even with all they have been doing to maintain production, in this collective they have not forgotten the fighting men at the front. They are furnishing them definite help. Last year, both disabled veterans and wounded fighting men received money assistance. In Plantaze, they have made lump-sum payments to the families of fighting men who were killed in the amount of 100,000 dinars, and they also assumed the obligation to provide scholarships to the children of their workers who died on the battlefield fighting for freedom and the Serbian Republic.

Hadzic Accuses UN of Disregarding UN Charter

LD0104194393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 1 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, April 1 (TANJUG)—President of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Goran Hadzic on Thursday [1 April] sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, saying the world organization disregarded the U.N. Charter, particularly the part guaranteeing the right to self-determination.

In the letter, which followed U.N. Resolution 815 on Wednesday treating the RSK as integral part of Croatia, Hadzic pointed out the actual situation, saying the RSK was, like Croatia, formed after the breakup of the former Yugoslavia.

The U.N. protected RSK was formed in August 1990 on predominantly Serb-populated areas of Croatia after Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

Hadzic said the Security Council and other U.N. bodies departed from the completely wrong presumptions and treated Krajina as a rebelled province of the Republic of Croatia which was to be pacified.

The U.N. disregarded the standards of international law and the actual situation, but departed from the fact that Croatia was internationally recognized, from some points of the Vance-Owen plan and from U.N. resolutions drawn in favour of the Croatian side.

Hadzic also said Krajina representatives never had the opportunity to inform the Security Council about their stands, although guaranteed such right in Chapter Six of the U.N. Charter.

According to Hadzic, the Croatian authorities took advantage of many partial assertions in U.N. resolutions, resulting in several thousand Serb refugees whose property was seized by the Croatian authorities.

He said this was the largest-scale ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia which had not yet been registered in U.N. documents. Hadzic said he hoped these facts would contribute to finding a just solution to the Krajina and Croatia dispute.

Serbs Request Butrus-Ghali Investigate Rights Abuses

LD0104185893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 1 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, April 1 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Slobodan Jarcevic on Thursday [1 April] appealed to U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali that the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the European Community (EC) urgently appoint representatives who would establish facts on terror against Serbs in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, especially in the towns of Zadar, Sibenik and the Island of Pag.

Jarcevic informed Butrus-Ghali that Croatia's authorities had opened camps for Serbs in Zadar, Sibenik and Pag. He demanded that Butrus-Ghali submit a report to the Security Council after establishing facts on terror against Serbs.

"In the past few days, 51 Serbs have been slaughtered in Zadar, some of them in the streets," Jarcevic said and added that only 12 of the 212 Serbs who had been missing in the occupied region have been freed.

These Serbs disappeared [words indistinct] arrested after Croatia's aggression on the RSK, which is a U.N-Protected Area (UNPA), on January 22. Croatia then occupied some places in southern RSK and has not stopped the aggression yet, although the Security Council warned to withdraw its troops to the initial positions.

Through mediation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), a group of old people have recently been released from the detention camp for Serb civilians in Pag. They testified that Croatian troops had taken to Zadar and later to Pag several score Serb civilians from the villages in the Zadar hinterland, occupied at the beginning of Croatia's aggression on the RSK.

The freed civilians, as well as most of those still detained in Croatian camps, were arrested from January 22-26 in or near their homes. Croatian Army, according to the testimonies, at the same time plundered their homes.

The released civilians said they had been tortured in detention, and that even children were detained in Pag.

Jarcevic underscored he could not believe the crimes were perpetrated by uncontrolled outlaw groups.

It sounds rather unbelievable according to Jarcevic, knowing that 300,000 Serbs have been expelled from Croatia.

Serbs Discuss New UN Resolution, Write to Butrus-Ghali

LD0104220993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Knin, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The outgoing government of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], presided over by Prime Minister-designate Djordje Bjegovic, today discussed UN Security Council Resolution 815.

The government was informed, a statement says, about the interruption of the peace talks in New York and the content of letters sent by President Goran Hadzic and Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic in connection with this to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

The stands presented are supported by the government because they are in keeping with the established policy on the independence of the RSK, that is, with the self-determination of the Serbian nation in this region.

The prime minister-designate of the new Krajina government, Djordje Bjegovic, will present the stands of the government with regard to the development of events in the light of the UN Security Council vote on Resolution 815 and the interruption of the talks in New York at a press conference tomorrow.

The government will continue its work until the forthcoming session of the RSK Assembly.

Serbia's Use of Slavonian Oil Examined

93BA0772B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 93 p 22

[Article by Goran Nuhanovic: "Oil Flows to Serbia"]

[Text] *Despite the presence of a Russian UN battalion, 400 metric tons of petroleum are being pumped out of wells in Djeletovci every day.*

The UN embargo against Serbia has been continually and drastically violated for at least a year in the heart of Slavonia, at the Djeletovci oil field, only 20 km from Vinkovci. Torches burn continuously at the derricks, and judging from the quantity of them petroleum experts have concluded that the Chetniks are pumping at least 400 metric tons of oil a day at this easternmost well in Croatia. The paradox of this somewhat mysterious story is all the greater since everything is happening under the sponsorship, as it were, of a Russian battalion in the UN peacekeeping forces stationed there, the same United Nations that imposed the embargo!

When Djeletovci fell into the hands of the Serbian aggressor at the end of September 1991 after heavy fighting, the oil wells located near the town were undamaged. There has been much discussion of why the site was not destroyed, thus blocking the aggressor's access to the oil, but officially no one is willing to say anything about this unpleasant subject. Nevertheless, UN experts confirm that it is very likely that the production well could be destroyed before long, due to the abnormal procedure for extracting oil from the ground, unless the Chetniks simply mine the site at the critical moment. The energy value of the Djeletovci oil field and the losses being suffered by INA-Naftaplin, or rather by the Republic of Croatia, are enormous. For example, Vinkovci Opstina alone, in which the town of Djeletovci was located until the latest administrative-political division, cashed in a million and a half German marks a year from the former mineral proceeds. If one counts the state's direct and indirect losses, the figures are astronomical.

We learned from the chairman of the Executive Council of Vinkovci, Ivan Treber, about the countless appeals sent to the Russian command in the eastern sector and to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Zagreb concerning the despicable plunder of Croatian mineral wealth despite the embargo. At first, they "justified" the situation by saying that the local Serb population was pumping the oil and immediately refining it for their own needs. Cynically and hypocritically, especially since the latest census showed that there were no more than 30 people of Serb nationality in this entire occupied territory next to Bosut, in six towns including Djeletovci (there were four in Djeletovci). The continual Croatian reconnaissance reports on trucks and tankers moving from the oil wells toward Lipovac and further into Serbia were not sufficient proof to the headquarters of the UN peacekeeping forces. Instead, they became convinced of this only after a respected oilman from Texas spent some time in Djeletovci and took irrefutable evidence to New York that the Chetniks in Djeletovci do not have even the basic technological preconditions for refining petroleum. Crude oil has been transported to major refineries—Novi Sad or Pancevo—since the end of 1991.

Plenty of time has passed since then, but there is still not the least indication of any sort of pressure from the United Nations on the Serbian side to stop the further exploitation of the Djeletovci oil field. It will be interesting to follow this issue in light of the latest initiative by the Council of the European Community to tighten sanctions against Serbia. Of course, if the initiative gets the "green light" in the Security Council, which includes, one should not forget, a representative of the state whose soldiers are on eastern Slavonian soil. A statement on the Djeletovci issue by the new UNPROFOR commander, Wahlgren, is expected shortly.

In Djeletovci, a town north of Bosut that used to have 850 inhabitants and 300 houses, there are fewer and fewer undemolished houses. Through the haze of the March day, the eyes strain through binoculars to make out the oil derricks, or perhaps the ruins of Djeletovci. Only with patience and the occasional ray of sun on the Djeletovci-Nijemci road, from the most forward of our positions, is it possible to spot the dark silhouettes of two bulky vehicles crawling, apparently with a full load, along the cobble pavement toward Serbia....

Split Daily Under Government Control

93BA0767A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 93 p 5

[Article by Radoje Arsenic: "SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Has Also Fallen"]

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Mar—The struggle between the employees of Dalmatia's only daily newspaper, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA (which thanks to its news content and absence of the burden of serving in the interests of the current regime, became the most prestigious paper in Croatia), to maintain their independence has gone on for months, but everything seems to have been in vain. Neither the determination of most of the employees, nor the open pressure from many influential and prestigious

international factors on the Croatian Government to leave this newspaper alone, accompanied by the threat that otherwise Croatia will not be accepted into the Council of Europe, which, of course, it greatly wanted, have helped.

The behavior of the Croatian regime toward SLOBODNA DALMACIJA (and others), however, indicates without question that even under the threat of a complete loss of prestige (and everything that comes with it) on the international scene it is nevertheless more important to have under its control all the important sources and distributors of information, which means the entire shaping of Croatian public opinion. Because this is an obvious fact, it is not difficult to spot the question which simply springs from it—Why is the present government in Croatia so afraid of the free flow and creation of information?

How Was DALMACIJA Bridled

Just a few days after a visit to Croatia by two prestigious international figures in the field of newspapers and the news—Timothy Balding, chief director of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ), and Aldan White, general secretary of the International Journalists Federation (IFJ), (who warned even President Tudjman of the danger of thwarting the development of the independent media, but they met with a "lack of understanding")—and the promise from Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic in Strasbourg that he would make it possible for an independent European commission to study what is actually involved in the case of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA—with a "sidestep" of the pro-regime faction that newspaper was placed under control of the current government, which, of course, vigorously denies this. The facts, however, are unambiguous.

That is, the Founding Assembly of the joint stock company SLOBODNA DALMACIJA-Novine [SLOBODNA DALMACIJA—Newspaper] was held last week in Split, making official the "transformation of ownership," i.e., transition of the paper to the hands of owners of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA stock, which is valued at 10.1 million German marks in a manner conceived by the authorities.

This is the structure of the stockholders: The largest individual stockholder is Splitska Banka [Bank of Split] (controlled by the government), with 36.6 percent, and then the Croatian Fund for Development—18.3 percent, the Pension Insurance Fund—9.14 percent. Privredna Banka [Commercial Bank] has 2.3 percent, and the employees a total of 27.2 percent. It is on that basis that the board of directors was made up of five members, most of whom represent government institutions (banks and funds), while Ante Busic, until now acting director of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, who was also appointed by the government, is the CEO of the joint stock company.

When a board of directors like that names the newspaper's new editor in chief, then in that kind of setup the meaning is completely clear, and it appointed to that post the journalist Dino Mikulandra. Thus, those who have managed the newspaper up to now have been "elegantly" removed, and it is also clear what that means.

The new editor in chief has taken pains to dispel confusion about the future orientation of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA; in his editorial in yesterday's issue of the paper (printed after a four-day strike, which yielded no results), he accused the strikers of "inflicting immense financial damage" and added: "But perhaps this discontinuity in time was necessary to mark the discontinuity in editorial policy."

This clearly stated that the editorial policy that has existed up to now is terminated, which also means the end of what up to now has brought SLOBODNA DALMACIJA its reputation and respect. Now we obviously will have another "truth," when there is a discontinuity with the previous one.

Government Monopoly Even in the Sale of Newspapers

At the same time, of course, the new team is straining to prove in verbal terms that it will be truly democratic and "open to differing views"; but it is still emphasizing that "we will not be unrecognizable as to our fundamental political orientation." In other words, this means that that is what SLOBODNA DALMACIJA has been up to now, and that is the mild version (but clear) of the charge of "anti-Croatian" activity, as conceived, of course, by those devoted to the present regime.

There is also a very practical need for this pledge of allegiance to the principles of democracy and human freedom, because just some 10 days ago Jacques Atalie [?], president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, issued a clear message at a press conference in Zagreb that that bank will help those countries "which conduct a peaceful policy and hold freedom of the media to be one of the fundamental issues of democracy."

If that is really the case, then there are no serious reasons for optimism in Croatia. After all, the present pattern of freedom and independence in this republic looks like this: All the important news-gathering institutions operating to shape political consciousness on the territory of all Croatia are under the control of the government. And not only that—the government has a complete monopoly over the printing and distribution of all newspapers in the republic, and what that means can best be illustrated by the fate of NOVI DANAS. That political weekly, we recall, when it finally gained financial independence (in the form of a Croatian businessman from abroad), nevertheless disappeared from the public here, because the newspaper sellers decided on the basis of "self-management" not to sell it, i.e., the monopoly distribution network under control of the government finally dealt it the last blow in this fashion.

This situation became still "clearer" through the ownership transformation in DALMACIJA. That is, immediately after the daily newspaper the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA printing plant also passed into the hands of the stockholders, and their structure looks like this: The Croatian Development Fund owns 49.9 percent, pension and other state funds—24 percent, while 25 percent are held by present and former employees in the printing and publishing arm of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. The government thus has direct control of 75 percent of the stock of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA printing and publishing, so now it is no surprise at all that the new team heading the newspaper has been able to print the new issue of the paper even though most of the editorial staff was on strike.

That is how it looks now in Split, but this was clear even earlier in other regions of Croatia. It is well-known what the present powers that be would say.

There is still a certain unknown as to what is actually happening to the only daily newspaper on the Croatian coast, i.e., Rijeka's NOVI LIST [NEW NEWSPAPER]. Its transformation of ownership did after all occur without particular excitement and with no opposition from the government, which in and of itself is perplexing, especially in view of the published figures that all of 97.6 percent of the shares are held by employees, which ought to mean their absolute control. Nevertheless, is that the case?

The structure of those private owners, that is, shows that 85 percent of those shares are held by Zdenko Mance, the newspaper's managing director, who was able to make the purchase on the basis of a manager's credit from Rijecka Banka [Bank of Rijeka] with a repayment term of five years. The essential question in this case, of course, is how the authorities came to close their eyes to this kind of "dodge."

There are no dilemmas whatsoever in any of the other daily newspapers (not to mention radio and television).

Drnovsek, Delors Discuss Signing of Cooperation Agreement

AU3103185093 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report by Mirjam Acimov Oblak from Brussels]

[Text] Three issues were put on the table during today's meeting of Prime Minister Drnovsek with the first man of the EC, President of the European Commission Jacques Delors, namely, the issues that are currently the most prominent and pressing in our relations with the EC. Primarily, the deadlock in the signing of the economic cooperation and trade agreement between Slovenia and the EC, the future long-term cooperation of Slovenia with the EC with associate member status, and finally, the currently extremely burning issue of Brussels's ban on imports of our meat and milk.

It seems that the EC's answer— well, at least the opinions on the highest level—was constructive in all three cases. Delors, and also van den Broek, EC commissioner for international relations, who also attended the talks, expressed a firm belief that the cooperation agreement, which is at present faltering because of Italian objections, will nevertheless be signed next Monday [5 April] when the EC foreign ministers meet in Luxembourg. On our side, this first important blueprint of institutional cooperation will be signed by Prime Minister Drnovsek.

The second issue, Slovenia's future associate membership of the EC, was supposedly also approached constructively today. Delors was of the opinion that after the signing of the cooperation agreement, the discussion about the initiation of negotiations for Slovenia's associate membership could already start at the forthcoming ministers' summit in Copenhagen. This is a form of cooperation that the majority of eastern European countries have already achieved and which facilitates numerous new forms of links that are more constructive and far-reaching than those offered by straight economic cooperation.

Finally, they also discussed the latest complications surrounding the ban on imports of our meat and milk. Even here, the talks sounded promising, although the EC leadership voiced the opinion that a final decision on this issue, as well as on the Italian veto of the signing of the cooperation agreement, will be made at lower levels of the EC. Tomorrow, the permanent representatives of the member-states, including the Italian representative, will be drawing up the agenda for the 5 April ministers' meeting in Luxembourg. Therefore, it will become clear after tomorrow's meeting whether Slovenia will sign the cooperation agreement on Monday or not. Delors has already provisionally invited Prime Minister Drnovsek to Luxembourg, which in itself speaks enough of the possibility that the agreement might nevertheless be signed.

Government Denies Withholding Information From Kucan

AU0104165793 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Let us return to the government press conference. Mile Setinc, head of the government information office, also made a statement at this news conference [in Ljubljana on 1 April], in the name of [Prime Minister] Drnovsek's cabinet, concerning the correspondence following the adoption of the resolution on basic elements of national security—namely the correspondence between President Milan Kucan and Defense Minister Janez Jansa:

[Begin Setinc recording] I attest to the fact that the government regularly informs the president about the agendas of its sessions and their contents. The president of the republic is receiving the so-called government file, which contains all the material for each government session. Therefore, the president receives a file identical to that of the cabinet members.

The government offices in charge assure us that the president did receive the basic elements of the resolution on the national security project—I am not sure if I got the title quite right, but we all know what I am referring to—as part of the material for the government session that discussed this issue; therefore, this section of documents was also sent to the president in due time.

There is the possibility that something went wrong in the office of the president. Perhaps there was some confusion over the documents. If anything of this sort did occur, it was certainly not a deliberate result of the government's decision to not inform the president of the republic. [end recording]

We have also learned that the Defense Concil of the Republic of Slovenia will meet in Ljubljana this afternoon. As it is known, besides the president of the republic, the council also consists of chairmen of the parliament, the prime minister, defense and interior minister, and commanders of the Territorial Defense and Civilian Defense. This will perhaps be the first step toward clarifying the circumstances that resulted in the correspondence between President Milan Kucan, Defense Minister Janez Jansa, and the government. The Defense Council of the Republic of Slovenia is expected to discuss certain security issues, since the responsible government ministries have established numerous legal ambiguities. The constitutional law on implementing the Constitution extends the validity of the Law on Defense and Protection until the end of 1993 when new laws should be adopted and the competences reallocated. [passage omitted]

Article Indicates Rift Between Kucan, Jansa

AU0104165593 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Mar 93 p 2

[Article by Marko Pecauer: "The Power Struggle Between President and Government Flared Up"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Mar—The latest correspondence between President Milan Kucan and Defense Minister Janez Jansa opened up some important issues concerning jurisdiction over the Slovene Defense Forces. It seems that there is an increasing rift between the president of the republic and the government.

At a news conference on 17 March, the defense minister presented a resolution on the starting points of the national defense project, which had been adopted by the Slovene Government two days earlier. The minister explained that what was involved was the edited text of the resolution that had been adopted by the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia within the previous state. He pointed out that it has in fact brought only two really essential changes. One is that jurisdiction in defense has been transferred from the state presidency to the government and the other one establishes Slovenia's international activity in ensuring total defense. Jansa said that the resolution no longer speaks of armed neutrality, but puts forward a position in which our state is also formally entitled to take over all defense and military tasks and obligations ensuing from its membership of various international and interstate political associations. He added that the text of the resolution was not made completely by the Defense Ministry, but the ministry coordinated its work with the foreign, internal, and judicial ministries.

Shortly after this, the president of the republic wrote a 17-line letter to the defense minister in which he asked why he [the president] had not been informed about the resolution and why the resolution had not been submitted to the Council for National Defense. The president also asked why he had been deprived of all information about the people's defense since the elections last December. Copies of the letter were also sent to Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, State Chamber Chairman Herman Rigelnik, and State Council Chairman Dr. Ivan Kristan. The letter was not meant for the public, but it seem to have reached it via the State Chamber.

In his yesterday's reply to Kucan—we have already reported it—Janez Jansa assured him that everything had been done in accordance with the procedures envisaged by law. First, he said that according to the Law on the Government, the president's letter should have been addressed to the government and not to one of its ministries. He also informed the president of the republic that the Slovene Constitution does not envisage that the president should cooperate in the drafting of documents before they are submitted to the State Chamber. He rejected the claim that the president of the republic had not been informed, as Kucan was allegedly receiving individual pieces of information without the prior verification of the Ministry of Defense, which was supposedly in breach of the law. The position of the Defense Council, which used to be a body of the former republican presidency, had not been defined at all since the inauguration of the new government and is, according to Jansa, "vague." He proposes to those in charge that they coordinate their views as to whether the Defense Council should exist at all. Bearing in mind the seriousness of the problem, Jansa has proposed to Kucan to resolve any possible future misunderstandings in a manner specified by the Constitution and the laws. A general consensus on certain open issues should also be reached, and that is before they appear in the papers. Too late, as the matter has already hit the papers in the meantime.

It has also been rumored that a great purge is being prepared. Supposedly, General Major Janez Slapar, chief of the General Staff of the Territorial Defense, is about to go. According to some sources, the reason for this lies in the fact that Slapar is "Kucan's man," while the direct cause for his replacement is the unlawful (as Jansa stated in his letter) reporting to the president of the republic. According to some other sources, this is a normal procedure, as according to the Law on Government, all heads of bodies incorporated in the ministries are obliged to tender their resignations. There is supposedly no actual replacement for Slapar at the moment. True enough, it has been speculated that Anton Krkovic could be the man, but it has been said that he is a much better fighter than a commander.

The president of the republic will probably respond to these serious accusations by the defense minister concerning the president's work. It seems, however, that this entire affair is not longer merely a struggle for the delineation of jurisdiction in commanding the Slovene defense forces, but also a struggle for the actual degree of power that these two institutions—president of the republic and the government—will have in the future.

Federal

Russian Envoy Churkin Visits Belgrade

Cosic on Talks With Churkin

AU0104151393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, held talks with Vitaliy Churkin, special Russian envoy at the conference on the former Yugoslavia and deputy Russian foreign minister, in the Palace of Federation. The central theme of the talks was the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the continuation of efforts to resolve the conflict in Bosnia. Dragan Colovic report:

[Colovic] As president Cosic's press adviser Dragoslav Rancic told journalists, Vitaliy Churkin described the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina as very grave, but not hopeless. After Alija Izetbegovic signed [the Vance-Owen plan], the pressure by the international public on Serbs is stronger. Churkin holds the view that the assembly of the Serbian republic in Bileca should take this into account. The special Russian envoy also thought that it would be good if the Yugoslav idea of observers along the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina was renewed, because, as he said, this would be useful for the further course of negotiations.

Churkin assessed the UN resolution on the use of force in the no-fly zone as the least of all possible evils. Even though it contains negative psychological elements, Churkin said that the aforementioned resolution does not contain anything against Yugoslavia. In addition, as he stated, it excludes reprisals.

President Cosic particularly stressed the independent Russian role on the international scene, as well as the Russian efforts aimed at the mitigation of crude bias in favor of the Muslims and Croats in the approach to the participants in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is being done by some of the great powers. Cosic particularly appreciated Russia's efforts aimed at converting the policy of ultimata to a policy of dialogue. In his view, Russia's role in this is major.

President Cosic fully agrees with Vitaliy Churkin's assessment that the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is complex and uncertain, but not hopeless. When people are doing something, and when there is reason and willingness, then there are always ways to solve problems, President Cosic said. As regards the Russian envoy's suggestion to Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic, that the maps be accepted, President Cosic described it as good, but added that the maps should not be imposed. Therefore, it was necessary to find a compromise acceptable to all.

President Cosic absolutely agreed with the need for the cease-fire to be preserved. He said that he will personally try to influence the Serbs to observe it. At the same time he expressed the fear that the others will not adhere to it. According to Cosic, the Muslims do not want the war to stop. In connection with this, he stressed that Russia could in the Security Council influence the end of, as President Cosic graphically expressed himself, playing with fire on the threshing floor, meaning the games concerning the lifting of the arms embargo to the Muslims.

In a brief statement, the special Russian envoy in the negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina positively assessed the talks, stressing that President Dobrica Cosic is one of the most respected of politicians, that this had been the third meeting with President Cosic in the last eight months, and that he and Cosic had some ideas on how to find political solutions to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He did not give any details.

Cosic, Churkin Hold Talks

LD0104181293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Apr (TANJUG): Today in Belgrade, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Dobrica Cosic and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin concluded during their talks in the Palace of the Federation that the situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina was very difficult but not hopeless.

Briefing journalists about the main points of the talks, which were held behind closed doors, presidential adviser Dragoslav Rancic said that the Yugoslav president praised Churkin's advice to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to accept the uncontroversial part of the proposed maps. According to Churkin's proposal, the controversial issues should be discussed in direct contacts between interested parties at a later time.

Apart from supporting Churkin's proposal, Cosic added that maps should not be imposed and that a compromise acceptable to all was necessary. There is always a way out if one has common sense and a will to resolve something, the Yugoslav president said.

In Cosic's mind, it is necessary to maintain the cease-fire. The Yugoslav president, as it was said, is going to exercise as much influence on the Serbs as he can to make them observe the cease-fire, but he expressed concern that the other two sides may not do the same.

As regards condemnations of Yugoslavia and the Serbs as aggressors, Cosic said that an aggression against one's own home does not exist. He confirmed that Yugoslavia has been supplying humanitarian aid to the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but if there is a belief that Yugoslavia plays a decisive role in their decision-making, that means that too much importance is given to only one factor, Cosic said.

Rancic said that the president of the FRY pointed at the necessity of Russia's historical return to the Balkans and the importance of its participation in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. Cosic laid a particular stress on the

importance of strengthening independent Russia on the international scene and, as regards the attitude towards participants in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, on its efforts to tone down the crude favoritism towards the Muslims and Croats, which has been exhibited by some superpowers.

Cosic told Churkin that he particularly appreciated Russian efforts aiming at translating a policy of ultimatums into a policy of dialogue and that the role that Russia plays in this is big both on the international scene and in the UN Security Council.

The Yugoslav president also said that Churkin's visit to Pale has provided an opportunity for using what the Russian diplomat has seen and heard there as a testimony that can play a huge moral role in the UN Security Council.

Telling Cosic about his impressions of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Churkin, according to Rancic, concluded that after Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic had placed his signature on the maps, pressure on the Serbs by the international public started increasing. At the forthcoming session of the assembly in Bileca, its members, according to Churkin, ought to take this into consideration.

Churkin holds that it would be good to put forward again Yugoslavia's idea on the deployment of international observers along the Bosnia-Herzegovina borders. He assessed the resolution on no-fly zone enforcement over Bosnia-Herzegovina as the least of the possible evils, which contains only a negative psychological element but does not envisage anything that would be against Yugoslavia.

In a brief press statement made after talks with Cosic, Churkin said that the talks were interesting and that the Russians consider Cosic to be one of the most authoritative Yugoslav politicians.

He said that in his talks with the Yugoslav president, the greatest attention was paid to the crisis in former Yugoslavia, particularly to the solution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict. Churkin added that this afternoon he was continuing talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and with Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladislav Jovanovic and that he was travelling to Bileca tomorrow morning.

The Cosic-Churkin talks were also attended by Vladislav Jovanovic and the president's special adviser Svetozar Stojanovic.

Jovanovic, as Rancic stated, spoke about the constructive contribution made by Yugoslavia to the resolution of the crisis, which the international community also appreciates, but that there have been war-mongering statements in the Security Council aimed at further punishing Yugoslavia. Jovanovic recalled three resolutions that were adopted in the period of two days, stressing that this cannot be a reward for the peaceloving policy pursued by the FRY.

Stojanovic warned that the pressure by the international public and the tightening of sanctions can strengthen [passage indistinct] and also in Yugoslavia and reinforce the position of those who refuse to take part in talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rancic concluded.

Kontic Meets With Churkin

LD0104183693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 April (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Dr. Radoje Kontic received Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin in Belgrade today. Churkin has been paying a visit to Yugoslavia in the capacity of President Yeltsin's special envoy.

In their lengthy talks, most attention was devoted to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the attitude of the international community toward the current developments on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

A statement by the Federal Information Ministry says Dr. Kontic pointed out the constructive approach and actions by the FRY since its proclamation on 27 April last year directed at resolving the crisis and restoring peace by political means and through negotiations. In line with that, the FRY acted at the London conference, at the Geneva conference, and is acting now in that way bearing in mind that Yugoslavia supports the Vance-Owen plan as a good basis for the resolution of the crisis.

However, according to Kontic, constructive efforts of the FRY fell on deaf ears of the international community, which is particularly obvious in the attitude of the UN Security Council toward our country. The application of sanctions toward the FRY is continuing, although it was understood that a civil war is being waged in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that the FRY is not an aggressor.

What is particularly worrying, Kontic said, is that such an approach surfaces in the treatment of Yugoslav demands regarding its humanitarian needs, including oil for hospitals, children's institutions, and home heating, gas needed for the production of fertilizers, and raw materials for medicines. Such an attitude caused suffering of the population, particularly children and the diseased.

Kontic stressed that actions of the FRY are based on its interest and will to achieve a peaceful solution and that the Federal Government and the prime minister himself will continue to make their contribution and support every agreement arrived at by the three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Kontic particularly emphasized that Russia ought to get involved more actively within the international community in the full explanation of basic reasons of the Yugoslav crisis, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the urgent abolition of sanctions.

Vitaliy Churkin agreed with Kontic that the situation regarding humanitarian aid for the FRY was upsetting and said that Russia would get involved so that concrete issues are resolved as soon as possible, particularly gaining permission to import gas necessary for the production of fertilizers. He said that Russia would urge the abolition of sanctions as soon as concrete steps in the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan allow that.

Churkin also briefed Kontic on his talks with the leadership of the Serb Republic and spoke about a Russian appeal addressed to the Serb side in Bosnia. He showed understanding for the position of the Serb side in Bosnia saying that he expected them to find a way to present it in the most constructive fashion despite the great pressures to which they are exposed.

Churkin also informed representatives of the Serb side in Bosnia-Herzegovina about actions that Russia was taking in connection with the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution on the enforcement of no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Russia has been urging the implementation of this resolution toward every side violating the no-fly zone. In that sense he told the Serb side that the adoption of the resolution should not be too worrying for it, because it has not violated it recently.

Assembly Seeks European Parliament Ties

LD0104124593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0913 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—Dr. Radoman Bozovic, president of the Chamber of Citizens, and Dr. Milos Radulovic, president of the Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly, have sent a letter to the European Parliament President Egon Klepsch.

In the letter, the presidents of both chambers of the Federal Assembly put forward a proposal for the reestablishment of contacts and cooperation between the European Parliament and the Federal Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which were suspended by a unilateral decision of the European Community.

According to a statement by the Federal Assembly, Bozovic and Radulovic stress that the Federal Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia holds in high esteem the development of relations and cooperation with the European Parliament, which was initiated back in 1972. In this connection, they mention that the two parliaments cooperated in the adoption of a cooperation document in 1980, and also that the European Parliament made a contribution to the improvement of overall relations between Yugoslavia and the European Community.

The presidents of both chambers of the Federal Assembly stress that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is in a very difficult position today. War on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and unjustly imposed sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are having tragic consequences.

According to Bozovic and Radulovic, international isolation and sanctions have a destabilizing effect on the region as a whole. Therefore, the way out of this difficult situation, in the mind of Presidents Bozovic and Radulovic, can only be found in the reestablishment of a permanent and just peace, the abolition of unjust sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and also the opening of a process of reintegration of our country with the international community.

The presidents of the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Republics express a desire that relations with the European Community be immediately restored on the basis of an agreement similar to the one that the Community had signed with the former SFRY. The most important basis for the realization of this cooperation is a resolute stance, expressed in a declaration adopted by the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 27 April 1992 on the acceptance of all basic principles of the UN Charter, the Helsinki and Paris CSCE Charters on new Europe, and also the principles of parliamentary democracy and observance of human rights and rights of minorities.

According to Bozovic and Radulovic, following the early multiparty parliamentary elections at all levels, all conditions exist for the reestablishment of a dialogue, contacts, and exchange of visits between the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the European Parliament. The Federal Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is open for all initiatives and is hoping that the European Parliament will accept the offered proposal for the opening of a dialogue and the reestablishment of cooperation, the statement by the Federal Assembly says in conclusion.

Ministry Says Sanctions Committee Ignoring Fuel Requests

LD0104194993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 1 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 1 (TANJUG)—The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Thursday [1 April] said the U.N. Sanctions Committee had turned a deaf ear to all justified requests made by Yugoslavia so far for the import of liquid fuels and natural gas for humanitarian purposes, the Federal Information Ministry said.

The Yugoslav Government decided on Thursday to inform the U.N. Security Council that refugees, kindergartens, nurseries, old people's homes, hospitals, schools an other similar institutions are in an extremely difficult position and that the shortage of natural gas has undermined the production of fertilizers necessary for the current production of food.

The Yugoslav Government discussed a report on the accusations presented against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by the "Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina" before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The accusations being the latest attempt at compromising the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the international level, the Federal Government decided immediately to take adequate measures and present counter-charges before the International Court of Justice because of genocide against the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims, one of the sides engaged in the civil, religious and ethnic war in that former Yugoslav republic, on Thursday accused the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of violating the 1948 Genocide Convention.

The Yugoslav Government decided to present an objection to the International Court of Justice in view of the fact that the "Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina" is not a legitimately elected government and does not represent all the three constituent peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Serbs, Croats and Muslims).

Romania Accused of Breaking Danube Agreement

LD0104210493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1907 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Iron Gates, April 1 (TANJUG)—Romanians are violating agreements on the Iron Gate Navigation System, i.e. are stopping Yugoslav vessels in the lock of the Iron Gate hydroelectric power plant and inspecting their cargo, Director-General of the Yugoslav Section of the Iron Gate Power Plant Stanisa Paunovic said on Thursday [1 April].

The Iron Gate Navigation System is not a system for the inspection of vessels and cargo, but a system which is to enable unimpeded navigation for all vessels, Paunovic told a news conference.

Paunovic said he did not know what the big powers were using to press Romania into violating the basic provisions of the respective agreements which regulate Yugoslavia's rights.

The explanation of U.N. authorities that Romanians are providing service for Yugoslavia in the lock is flawed and legally unfounded because the lock on the Romanian side is considered a joint facility until an identical one is built on the Yugoslav side, Paunovic said. Romanians have twice so far failed to meet the deadline for the completion of the construction work on the lock on the Yugoslav side.

No legal provisions have been made for the revoking of the agreements because a long-term joint venture of the two states, worth a total of between two to three billion dollars, is involved, Paunovic said. He specified that the provisions of the agreements could not be changed even in wartime.

Paunovic said the Yugoslav-Romanian commission in charge of resolving problems in the joint exploitation of the Danube had not met for quite some time. He said the Romanian side was using as a pretext the U.N. sanctions introduced against Yugoslavia and displaying an interest in the freezing of the commission's work.

Paunovic warned that, although the Iron Gate hydroelectric power system was a big ecological bomb, the 20 or so jointly defined programmes of observation, monitoring and exchange of information on the situation on the Danube were no longer being carried out. Paunovic said that failures on the dam could result in horrendous crest waves or the drainage of the Iron Gate storage lake.

Confessions of Serb Victims of Rape

93BA0749C Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by Vasko Radusinovic: "Everybody Wants Us To Forget It All, but That Is Impossible. Such Humiliations Remain Forever"]

[Text]Testimony of one of the raped Serbian women begins like this: I spent 25 days in a hallway with J. As much as I was able to determine, the building was a residential building and the area where we were kept was in the basement. From neighboring rooms we could hear the screams of other women. I was abused every day, and other women's screams could be heard every day, too. Those who raped us, told us that Serbs are doing the same to their sisters and wives, Muslims. That, I guess, was some sort of an excuse for what they were doing to us.

On the 25th day of my stay in the basement, Ismet Bajramovic came to me and told me that thanks to some connections of mine, he had to let me out, and told me to forget everything that took place for my own good, to avoid having anything ugly happen to me. The husband of one of my friends, who is a Muslim, used his connections to find out where I was and to get me out. It has all been destroyed there, not a single Serbian house is left. They took me away in the same manner - blindfolded. They took me to Kosevo hill in Sarajevo, which is held by the Muslims, opened the door and threw me out. From there, I went to my friend Emir, whose wife is Serbian. They helped me to the neuropsychiatric clinic "Kosevo," where I saw doctor Haris. I spent 28 days in the hospital and then returned to my friends.

I Do Not Want This Child

After a month, I started getting sick and vomiting which all pointed out that I was pregnant. Again, I went to the clinic "Kosevo" with the intention of having an abortion. They wanted me to make a statement for the journalists stating that I was raped by a Serb. Only under that condition would they carry out the abortion. I refused bitterly since it was incomprehensible to me to soil my people's name, the religion to which I belong, and, in the end, myself. Their humanism and decency

was zero. I decided that since there was no chance for me to have an abortion, to bear the child and then strangle it, if you can understand this. This child was not the fruit of my love, I would only hate it and all my anger would be directed at this child. It would always remind me of the horrible suffering I had gone through.

I continued staying with my friends, Emir and R., who fed me and gave me clothing since I did not have any of my own. There was no chance to leave and cross into Serbian territory. I stayed with them until midnight on 15 November. Then they helped me to get on the list for a convoy to Serbia. The list was being made-up since July, and from then until November not a single convoy had left for Serbia.

The convoy started on 15 November from Sarajevo and arrived in Belgrade at midnight on 17 November. I spent the night in Belgrade, and the following morning I went to a gynecological-obstetrician clinic where I had the baby.

(Taken from the testimony of K.S. at the gynecological-obstetrician clinic in Belgrade.)

Juka's Fighters and the Muslim Children

About 2000 on 30 September, 1992, Hamdo Sasic, a member of the military police of Sarajevo, accompanied by two members of Juka's army, came to the apartment of S.I. on Oteska Street. They asked what we were doing in Joze Oroz, and where did Stjepan Kalem, nicknamed "Pepo," go and why didn't he take us with him? They cursed our Chetnik-mothers and threw insults at us. Hamdo Sasic wanted to know where my brother and another relative were. We did not respond to any of his provocation's. At one moment, the third member of Juka's army came and joined us. He addressed Hamdo with these words - "That is not the way to do it, my brother, this is the way." As soon as he said these words, he grabbed S.I. by her arm and took her to the living room. The other two joined him. After that, all I could hear was S.I. screaming and shrieking as she fought to get rid off them. I stayed in the other room with Hamdo Sasic, and in tears I asked him why were they doing it to me, when they knew I was not guilty of anything. I pleaded with him to go to the other room and order them to let S. go. He answered coldly, no and that they had to produce Muslim children. At that moment, one of Juka's fighters entered the room, still closing his black uniform, and told Hamdo Sasic - "Our job is done."

When three of Juka's fighters got to the front door, I ran to the other room where my friend was. I found her on the floor, naked, her body red, especially around her neck. Her face was pale and she was throwing up. I came up to her, lifted her shoulders, and called her name, but she would not answer. At that moment, I did not know whether she was alive or dead. I ran out calling for help, but Hamdo Sasic grabbed me and pushed me away. Through my tears, I begged him and pleaded, that he let me go but he didn't. I started screaming, and Hamdo hit me hard, blood came from my mouth and nose. He knocked me down to the floor and threatened - "Tomorrow evening, I will rape you and you will bear a Muslim."

Hamdo took the key to the apartment, locked the door from outside, and took the key with him. I tried, and got out through the window of the apartment onto the first floor above the pizzeria "Hollywood," and I slowly climbed down to the street. I then ran to the other side of the street, and got to a building near the railway station. Here I spent the night and the next morning, around 0900, I crossed the river and reached Vrac.

(Taken from the testimony of N.J. which she gave to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Serbian Republic at ILIDZA.)

Law on Rights of Minorities Prepared

93BA0772A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by Branislav Radivojsa: "Law for Minority Communities Prepared: Anyone Can Be in a Minority"]

[Text] *Based the model of some European countries, experts have drawn up a working version of a law about which the new government is supposed to comment; anyone who invokes minority rights defines himself as a minority; various forms of autonomy for minority communities; mandatory inclusion in parliamentary activities and state institutions.*

The FRY will soon have a law on the liberties and rights of minority communities. A working version of this law was recently completed by an expert group of the (former) federal government, and this was the reason that we spoke with the head of that team, Dr. Dusan Janjic.

"The reason for preparing the law was the government's effort to deal with all relevant issues concerning the rights of minority communities in one legal act. This material," says Dr. Janjic, "is directly associated with the results of numerous bilateral and multilateral negotiations on the Yugoslav crisis, in which a great deal of significance has been attached to minority rights. At the same time, we must bear in mind that the position of the Serb and Montenegrin nations outside present-day Yugoslavia will depend on how the minority issue is resolved in the FRY."

In what regard is this law new?

"Not so much in terms of the list of minority rights, because that list was primarily taken from international acts and existing legislation in our country. What is original is the way of institutionalizing the interests of minorities and their rights, as well as the mechanism for protecting those rights. And it is so original that if it gets a green light in the new government, that part of the law will probably provoke adverse public commentary."

The Threatened and the Most Numerous

The first problem encountered by the expert group when drawing up this text was finding an answer to the question: What are minorities in Yugoslavia? "We avoided enumerating them," Dr. Janjic explains. The law names the rights and the instruments for realizing them, and anyone who invokes these rights defines himself as a minority. Why this type of solution? Because even members of the majority nation can be unprotected in certain regions and in certain periods. This is borne out by the example of Serbs in Kosovo. That is why representatives of the Serbian nation, as the most numerous one, can invoke the rights contained in the law if they feel threatened in certain areas, and thus set up the institutions provided by the law.

"Our basic premise was that any group can be a minority in one part of a territory and one level of organization; accordingly, it can use the mechanisms provided by this law," Dr. Janjic explains.

Who has the right to represent a national community?

The expert group opted for a solution whereby the representative of a minority can only be someone who has been correspondingly verified in democratic and free elections. This principle eliminates two extremes. First, the situation where someone who has won elections pretends to represent the community in all domains and all situations, and second, the situation where someone asserts that he represents a community without electoral verification. If these rules were applied, not a single party in Kosovo would currently be authorized to represent the Albanian national community. Specifically, the right to representation is acquired solely through elections and participation in parliamentary life.

Otherwise, the law has three parts. In the first part, general principles are cited, together with the list of liberties and rights of minority communities. These are classic rights, whereby something new for us is the guarantee of proportional representation for national minorities in assemblies. If any national community makes up more than 3 percent of the population, then it has its own representatives in parliament, depending on election results. But if it constitutes between 0.25 and 3 percent, then that community gets at least one representative in parliament, regardless of the election results.

Personal Autonomy

In the second part of the law, mention is made of the institutions that protect the liberties and rights of minorities. Protection before the federal constitutional court is provided, whereby it is possible to lodge a constitutional complaint, even in the case of individual acts where basic principles from the law are being violated. Then there is protection before regular courts, for all types of charges, even so-called popular charges (the interest of the plaintiff does not have to be directly threatened). Finally, an ombudsman will concern itself with protection as a (future) nongovernmental institution, and the law also introduces a commission of the federal government for issues of minority communities, as well as the possibility of forming commissions and committees of the FRY Assembly.

The last part of this legal act deals with the organization of minority self-administration and the autonomy of minority communities. It is assumed that this part of the law will be challenged most vehemently. Specifically, the law provides for various forms of autonomy for minority communities. One of them is territorial-administrative, which depends on future solutions in the Constitution and on territorial organization. "We have only anticipated this autonomy," says Dusan Janjic.

However, the law has defined minority personal self-administration. This self-administration is provided for in settlements or parts of settlements. According to the personal principle, minority communities are connected throughout wider areas, whereby they can form minority community councils on the level of the province, the republic, and even the federal state. For example, a council of Hungarians in Vojvodina could be formed, which has the right to bring charges before the constitutional court in order to protect certain national rights.

Functional autonomy, as another form of autonomy, means that the members of a minority organize themselves, for example, to set up a school or college, and deal with the operation of those institutions, including their financing.

All the minority communities in Yugoslavia can form a congress of minority communities, which has the right to ask the Assembly or the government to pass corresponding acts, and thus laws as well, whereby state institutions are obligated to respond to the congress concerning these initiatives, although they are not obligated to satisfy its demands.

It is interesting that the expert group believes that the formation of these minority institutions will contribute to a decrease in conflict in society. Minority commissions, councils, and congresses, as well as state institutions, will react in accordance with this law as soon as certain problems emerge. One of the important goals of forming these institutions, Dr. Janjic explains, is to avoid conflict. This type of mechanism has already proven successful in some European countries (Switzerland), because major ethnic conflict arises wherever problems accumulate and exert pressure, which often results in aggression later on.

What Contributes to Disintegration

Certainly the proposal on formation of personal autonomy by the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians elicited sharp reactions in many of our political circles not that long ago. Accordingly, we ask Dr. Janjic whether this self-organization by minorities could perhaps lead to a resurgence of separatism.

Janjic does not think so. He believes that this act could even contribute to integration within Yugoslavia. For example, acceptance of the law would lead to political representatives of Albanians in Kosovo giving up their demand for secession, because this project provides for their mandatory inclusion in parliamentary activities and existing state institutions. Second, it introduces several types of autonomy that will compete with one another within the framework of the same national community. Thus far, political parties have monopolized the autonomy issue, often equating the right to autonomy with the right to a state. Whoever controls the state introduces his own rules and denies the rights of others.

Still, is it possible that this law will be used by certain political forces in this country as an excuse for new disintegration? There is no institutional and legal solution that can prevent the trend of integration or disintegration. (Dis)integration depends on whether there is a social and political consensus on coexistence within the state, says Janjic, adding: "In the case of this law, it is important that harsh sanctions are applied to any form of threatening the territorial and state integrity of the FRY, and that the rights of national communities cannot be used as a pretext for secession."

What will become of this project? The expert group has completed its part of the job, the law has been handed over to the previous minister for human rights, and everything else depends on the new government and the president of the republic, who is also well aware of the work on preparing this act.

[Box, p 7]

Expert Group

The members of the expert group that prepared the text of the law on the liberties and rights of minority communities and of their members, besides Dusan Janjic, were: Vojislav Stanovcic, Vojin Dimitrijevic, Vucina Vasovic, Ranko Bugarski, Darko Tanaskovic, Lidija Basta-Posavec, Vladimir Goati, Zorica Radovic, Boris Krivokapic, Vida Cok, Sait Kacapor, Vesna Rakic-Vodinelic, Marijana Pajvancic, Istvan Bosnjak, Branislava Jojic, and Radomir Odalovic.

Centralized Public Accounting System

93BA0788D Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93 p 2

[Article by Zarija Martinovic, director of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia: "Settlement—A Test of Yugoslavism"]

[Text] There is no modern state or federation without a unified monetary and payment system. That is why the Settlement Agency is a true test of whether we are for Yugoslavia or not, said Zarija Martinovic, general director of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia (SDKJ), in response to the invitation to be "TANJUG's Guest."

The new law on the Settlement Agency, which transforms the SDKJ into a new organization, provides for complete centralization. The republic agencies become main branches. All powers originate in the Belgrade headquarters.

"I do not dare even to think, much less say, what would happen if Serbia and Montenegro do not devise a modern federation. It would be an immeasurable tragedy if that Yugoslav-Serbian-Montenegrin space were further confederalized," Martinovic warned.

Without embellishing things at all, Martinovic said, experts of the republic agencies have prepared in just a few days the bylaws of the future unified organization in which there are no republic obstacles at all.

"I hope that this time the others will follow the lead of the federal institutions, because I do not see any reason why Serbia and Montenegro would look differently on this Yugoslavia. When we should have done that earlier, now there really is no good reason," Martinovic sincerely believes, as he himself says.

The most important innovation in the Law on Settlement, which was adopted toward the end of last year in the Federal Assembly, is freeing the agency of governmental attributes. The conventional monitoring of legality of the operation and business of firms is passing from the SDK to the government. When the government is making the rules, Martinovic believes, it should also see that they are enforced.

Now that monitoring has been made separate, the future agency will turn to further modernization of the settlement process. "Even now, we are more than satisfied with the speed at which money is flowing through the settlement channels. Every day, 98 percent of the money that arrives is turned over. We are seven- to eightfold faster than the world, but we want to be still faster, and we can," Martinovic promises.

Even by the end of this June, banks and budget-financed institutions will be connected to the Settlement Agency by telecommunications equipment. This creates possibilities for the transfer of so-called electronic money.

They will issue payment orders from their office and at any second they will know the status of the account. For them, the agency will no longer have teller windows.

With that kind of equipment and technology, the banks will also be able to check the balance in the account of every one of its depositors. On the basis of that and other information, the banks can make daily and responsive business decisions much more quickly. By the end of the year, according to plans, a similar system is supposed to link up both the large firms and also all others who have an interest in rapid and simple transfer of money.

When the entire system is rounded out, the SDK will no longer have teller windows, and participants in the settlement process will be able to communicate directly. Business reports and year-end statements will be prepared and presented on the computer. Piles of paper, stamps, seals, and orders will disappear. This will be the end, Martinovic says, of paper technology.

Serbia

Seselj Calls for Unification of 'Serbian Countries'

AU0104152793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] At a regular news conference, Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, called on the state leaderships of the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the republic of Serbian Krajina to form urgently a unitary state out of the two western Serbian Krajinas because of the current circumstances.

Vladimir Nikolic reports.

[Nikolic] The question of forming a joint state is the question of the survival of the Serbian people in the western Serbian countries, Seselj stressed and promised that the Serbian Radical Party would do all in its power to get the relevant state authorities of Yugoslavia to recognize the independence of the joint state. The Serbian Radical Party supports the will of the people of the Serbian republic not to accept that Vance-Owen plan, and:

[Seselj] We call on the assembly of the Serbian people, which is to meet tomorrow in Serbian Bileca in Serbian Herzegovina, to reject the Vance-Owen plan, and to reject any signature that would mean the capitulation of the Serbian people to foreign powers. The Serbian people have to maintain all that they have won in a hard and bloody struggle.

[Nikolic] We support the attitude of the representatives of the republic of Serbian Krajina not to participate in the talks on solving the border disputes with the Republic of Croatia, because the Security Council, with its resolution, has made it clear that it considers the republic of Serbian Krajina a constituent part of Croatia, Seselj stressed.

The republic of Serbian Krajina warns the regimes in Belgrade and Podgorica, and the federal authorities that it is vital to concentrate urgently on solving the social problems. However, Seselj stressed that he would not agree that the federal authorities be given jurisdiction that is not theirs by constitutional regulations under the excuse of solving these problems. The same goes for the latest request by the Federal Government for special authority whilst the sanctions are in force.

Reasons for Arrest of Trade Minister Viewed

93BA0749A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 26

[Article by Slobodan Ikonic: "Is the Detaining of Bozovic's Former Minister (and Brother In-Law) Only a 'Family Row' or Is This the Beginning of the End for the Powerful Clan of the Recent Prime Minister of Serbia?"]

[Text]According to a statement issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia, Savo Vlajkovic the former minister of trade and tourism in the government of the Serbian republic, Andrija Jovicic the present deputy minister of the same ministry, and Divna Korac, a market inspector from Valjevo have been detained under the suspicion that they have committed criminal acts which are the basis for legal proceedings.

Abuse of position-privileges could be, according to information available, agreeing to price increases according to government regulations, or approving the import or export of certain goods where, due to the embargo, extra profit could be made. There has been more and more talk about the issuing of permits for the sale of certain food items in other republics which are under the jurisdiction of the Trade Ministry. An investigation will show whether these rumors are true, that several thousand tons of food allegedly went to Macedonia.

Judging by this, the conditions set forth by government regulations regarding sales being made through the Materials Reserve Board and based on compensation contracts, have not been respected. It is not clear how much of these deficit goods go into such trade exchanges, including humanitarian aid going through the Red Cross to the Krajinas which also has to be approved by the Ministry. The government was, after all, entrusted to prevent speculations and war profiteering in these extremely difficult times for the country.

The Park

This is precisely why the news received from the Ministry of Internal Affairs sounds so alarming. Thus the very department which is responsible for fighting the abuse itself, has come under suspicion. It is difficult to accept that the government and President Bozovic were not informed about the ways of issuing permits for the sale of such goods. Moreover, since the government called for, and established, strict inspections and controls for the trading of these goods at all border crossings.

Sava Vlajkovic, the former minister in Bozovic's government, and brother-in-law to the same "Montenegrin of Serbian origin" is already known for his involvement in some scandals.

According to Milan Paroski, president of the People's Party, the obvious reason must be something far bigger than the scandals associated with this former minister. Two years ago, Sava Vlajkovic, then director of provincial funds for the development of industry in the provincial government of Radoman Bozovic, signed a contract

with a certain Vilijem Milovan, from Milan, for the sale of Fruska Gora park for the period of a hundred years for a sum of money that would have been sufficient to purchase a "stojadin." [Zastva 101 automobile] His right-hand man was Koviljko Lovre, then a minister without portfolio, and later, president of the government of Vojvodina and director of the National Park, the only one dismissed, and after which an emergency administration was introduced in the park.

At the same time another scandal was taking place, the one of a business-financial character in the holding of "Borovo Trgovina" where Sava Vlajkovic was director of the managing board. Workers and the trade union took over, by force, the management of the holding, and Sava Vlajkovic was expelled. Investigative bodies did not take any measures but Vlajkovic, after becoming a minister, closed down 200 stores belonging to the company.

The trade union of Serbian businessmen, and the People's Party, did everything they could to prevent this act. Workers organized themselves and protested in front of the republic government building. After that, the ban was lifted. Representatives of the opposition called for the minister to be dismissed, but the Serbian Assembly, twice gave him a vote of confidence. Now, something big is in the game. In Mr. Paroski's opinion, the whole thing will be hushed up since the Bozovic clan is very powerful in Serbia, and it is a wonder that the information got out at all.

Apartments

In contrast to the stormy political career of Sava Vlajkovic, the name of his aide, Andrija Jovicic, was respected in scientific circles and taken seriously in public. In his case, was it one of blind obedience, or of personal gain? And, is the connection between the young female inspector from Valjevo and the former minister, only a business relationship, or is there something more.

An investigation will have to either confirm or deny the rumors as to whether Mrs. Korac, who is under arrest, indeed had a private company through which, allegedly, all major transactions were done in spite of the fact that she was the market inspector. Next, the investigation should show how all this was influenced by the fact that the former minister, and the former prime minister, are related, as well as, whether Mr. Vlajkovic, with profits he made while he was minister, bought a new apartment and two Mercedes with the money, or whether this is all unfounded rumors.

However, at the moment this is all of little importance. The major issue appears to be—why, with so many clever operators and profiteers, did it all break on Mr. Vlajkovic's back and those of his two aides? The other question is, is this just the beginning of the untangling of the ball of wool whose strings will be pulled by even some bigger names, in even more important positions?

Is this example proving that war profiteering has spread among top government officials? The question is—will the present government persevere, and how, in fighting big crime? The case of Minister Sava Vlajkovic and his aides is certainly not isolated. Similar stories accompany other members of the government establishment, which does not prove anything in itself, but one can not ignore the fact that in Vlajkovic's case, it was also only a rumor in the beginning. The curt police statement cannot be the end to this story.

Montenegro

Socialist Party Official Notes Differences With Serbia

LD0104131793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Podgorica, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The deputy chairman of the Montenegrin Socialist Party [Socijalisticka Partija Crne Gore—SPCG], Rade Bojovic, today said that differences between Serbian and Montenegrin policies are considerable and that radical solutions in this area are possible in the near future.

According to him, the Montenegrin state leadership will have to either persuade "the Serbian politicians" to pursue a sensible policy or proclaim state sovereignty for Montenegro.

At a news conference held today, Bojovic stressed that there was also a third option: a conflict with the entire world, which would have catastrophic consequences especially for Montenegro.

Bojovic and his party colleague Srdja Darmanovic see reasons for such warnings in the latest session of the Federal Assembly, where they are deputies. According to them, differences between Montenegrin and Serbian positions were displayed clearly at that session. They criticized the session for rejecting an SPCG initiative urging a debate on the foreign policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and especially for adopting a war budget, which sets aside 70 percent of funds for the Army and only 2 percent for science and development.

Darmanovic and Bojovic maintain that the Vance-Owen plan gave the FRY a very simple choice: either to accept—as they put it—a rational political plan, or finally, to opt for war. In connection with this, Darmanovic and Bojovic said: Montenegro and Montenegrins must not be Karadzic, Milosevic, or Cosic's hostages.

Asked to comment on Cosic's statement made in Brussels that a national consensus had been reached, Darmanovic said the FRY president was making such ambivalent statements that one could not deduce his political views from them.

Kosovo

Political Parties Request Legalization of Parliament

AU0204052693 Tirana ATA in English 1028 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 1 (ATA)—Recently in Kosova several Albanian parties and the Coordinative Council of the Assemblies of Kosova's Communes are demanding the speedy legalization of the parliament of the Republic of Kosova based on the first multiparty elections of May 24 last year. The first attempt to legalize the parliament was forcibly hindered by the Serb police.

Commenting the demands for the legalization of the parliament, the president of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova told the reporters from Kosova and the world these days that these demands are also demands of the people to legalize as soon as possible the democratic institutions of the power elected by the people in last year's multiparty elections in Kosova and work is being done in this direction. "We are constantly endeavouring to find a suitable moment and carry out this important work for Kosova," he said.

Oil Shortage Causes Lack of Bread

LD0104130093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Pristina, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—There has been a lack of bread in Kosovo and Metohija over the past few days. Long lines in front of shops can be seen only in the early morning. It is very difficult to buy bread in the afternoon because it cannot be found in state or in private shops.

Djordje Simic, director of the Zitokondit agriculture combine in Kosovo Polje, together with the bakery in Urosevac, the biggest producer of bread in Kosovo and Metohija, said that there has been a lack of bread because of the lack of oil. [passage omitted]

Serbs Refuse To Allow BUJKU Publication

AU0204052493 Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 1 (ATA)—BUJKU, the only daily newspaper in Albanian in Kosova, did not appear on March 31. The department of the Serb Printing House refused to print it under the pretext of shortage of paper. This is groundless, as the Serb newspaper JEDINSTVO continues to normally come off the press. Consequently Kosova lacked Albanian information on March 31. This further worsens the situation. It is done in the context of the attempts for misinformation and to spread Serb military propaganda.